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DERBY:
Its Rise & Progress.





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Derby: Its Rise and Progress

BY

A. W. Davison



"I felt a pleasure in walking about Derby. There is an immediate sensation of novelty, and one speculates on the way in which life is passed in it"—BOSWELL, 1777



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J. J. Lawrence

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MAP OF DERBY: SHOWING EARLY AND MEDIEVAL EXTENSIONS.

Derby: Its Rise and Progress



CHAPTER I.

BEFORE THE CONQUEST



HE origin of Derby may belong to prehistoric times. A British way, or "forest path," traversed the country from west to east—a track now represented in Derby by the Burton Road, with its continuations, Babington Lane and Bag Lane (now East Street). This ancient highway crossed the river—the British Derwent or "rapid stream"—at a point where it was wide and fordable, a passage indicated by the modern road across the Holmes, which beyond the eastern bank of the river was known until recent times as Ford Lane. The floods, to which the Derwent was always subject, rendered the ford at such times impassable, when travellers and merchandise would accumulate on the river bank, a condition implying the existence of a village or settlement. Further, the earthworks on the hill dominating the ford were

probably of British origin, for the distance separating the later Saxon castle and town suggests that this fortress, as in other instances, was erected on an earlier British foundation.

In the first or second century of the Christian era, the Roman, who was gradually subduing the whole of Britain, settled on the Derwent and built the station of Derventio (Little Chester). Some two miles west of the river, he diverted the British road slightly to the northward, along the line of the modern Uttoxeter Old Road and Nuns Street, to strike the Derwent at a narrower part, where a bridge was built to carry the road into the Roman castrum. Near this point it was joined by two other roads—one from the Roman station of Rocester, part of which road still forms the village street of Markeaton, and the other from the lead mines of the Peak. Eastward of Derventio, two roads diverge, although their remains are not so easily traced as those on the western side of the river.*

The local remains of this mighty nation are few. The area covered by the foundations of their buildings shows the extent of the castrum, and the remains of the piers in the river prove the existence of the Roman bridge. The numerous coins found indicate business and trade; a large figured vase of Samian ware shows that some families of position lived in Derventio; and an altar, supposed to have been dedicated to the god Mercury, marks a common

* Straight roads in the neighbourhood of a Roman station generally follow the line of its old streets or boundaries. Judging by this method, the Old Chester Road and the Mansfield Road mark the line of the north and east walls; City Road represents a main street of the castrum, crossed at right angles by a street from the bridge, which has disappeared, although its position is defined by the Roman road, which as a modern field road passes under the Midland Railway to the eastward.

phase of Roman life. Beyond these scanty relics little exists of the foreign community stationed here through two or more centuries.

During this long period of military government, the legions on their way from York to Wroxeter or from Chester to Lincoln would pass through, old friends from Gaul or the banks of the Danube perhaps recognised each other here after years of separation, and exchanged opinions on the cold British climate or related the latest news from Rome. At length, in the year 410, the last of the Roman legions left Britain, and the native race, enervated by three centuries of slavery, was left to its own miserable resources. Faction soon fought against faction, as no unity existed, and the Saxon sea-rover, who had caused even the Roman government much trouble, harassed the coasts with impunity, and finding little to hinder him, crept up the rivers and founded settlements in the interior.

410

Although almost two centuries elapsed between the departure of the Romans and the settlement of the Saxons around Derventio, the Britons in this portion of the country were not left in peace during that long period. Besides their own intestine quarrels, they were subjected to occasional raids from these fierce invaders, which became more frequent and more terrible as the year 586 approached, when Crida founded the kingdom of Mercia, or Central England. From this bald statement we infer that the Saxon came at last to settle; that he probably burned Derventio, as he burned other castra which would not submit; and that after the few Britons who were able to do so had escaped to hide in the caverns of

the Peak, those who resisted were put to the sword and the rest were made slaves.

Having reduced Derventio and subjugated the helpless Briton, the Saxon proceeded to choose a site suitable for his primitive industries, and also as a place of defence against future foes. The river Derwent was too broad and deep for his limited engineering skill to cope with, but southward over the hill, ran a streamlet now known as the Markeaton Brook, which offered easier facilities for dams and small water wheels. Moreover, at a spot where it was joined by a still smaller streamlet from the south-west,* now lost to sight but remembered by many now living as Bramley Brook, there was probably a natural clearing of meadow land, which gradually changed into swamp and marsh in the direction of the Derwent. In the fork formed by these brooks, the Saxon settled and formed the nucleus of the modern town. Two names enable us to fix it as a place of defence. Its Saxon name "Northworthige" means the *fortified* town of *north* Mercia, to distinguish it from Tamworth, to the southward. The other name which still survives is Wardwick, meaning the *guarded* wick or village. This early settlement was therefore protected by streams on the north, south and east, whilst to the west, where there was no natural protection, a rough stockade or a thick hedge would complete the line of defence.

+ In the year 669, the minster Church of St. Chad was founded at Lichfield, from whence issued forth

* Near the General Post Office.

the missionary priests to convert and baptise the pagan Saxons of the diocese. At Northworthige their efforts resulted in the church which rose in the centre of the little town, its name, St. Werburgh's, fixing the date of its origin in the seventh century. Around the new church was the open space, where, according to Saxon Custom, the traders and farmers gathered at fair and market, and to this day the street adjoining St. Werburgh's churchyard is called "Cheapside," although the cheapening and higgling migrated centuries ago to another quarter of the town.

The appearance of Cheapside to-day, however, bears little resemblance to its original of the seventh century. The dwellings of that time were huts, with walls built of wicker smeared with clay or plaster, and with roofs of thatch. Even the churches were constructed of the same rude and unsubstantial materials, with unglazed windows open to wind and weather, and the bare earth to kneel upon. Probably the Latin mass-book possessed by the officiating priest, was the only piece of literature in the town.

Away on the slope to the south-east, partly surrounded by marsh and river, stood the castle, where the king of Mercia with his suite held his court on his tours through the province; although, separated as it was by so wide an interval from the town defences, it might almost be regarded as a neighbouring stronghold, than as assisting in the defence of the town itself. Its remains have long since disappeared, although some traces of the earthworks were discernible on Cockpit Hill in Hutton's time. The name, Castle Fields, testifies to its existence,

and Bag Lane may refer to the *burgh* or Saxon earthwork to which this street formed a boundary.

Stretching away up the valley of the brook were the town lands, where each freeman owned his arable plot and exercised his right of common pasture. Next to the town defence came the king's farm, still localised in the name "King's Mead," for Northworfhige appears to have been a royal borough. Beyond were the common fields of the burgesses, as far as Markeaton, the village at the *mark* or boundary to the estate. On the hill to the north was Quarndon, where these early colonists quarried their *querns* or small millstones, and away to the southward lay Chellaston, the *chalk town*, where they found the lime with which they plastered their wattled huts.

For three centuries the Saxon remained in possession of the town which he had built near the banks of the Derwent, although the last fifty years were filled with disturbing rumours of the advance of another invader, as ruthless and daring as his own ancestor who had wrested the land from the degenerated Briton. As the ninth century advanced, and the new enemy, who had at first confined his savage raids to the coast towns, began to creep inland, it became certain to the dweller in Saxon Derby that the time was at hand when he must take down his father's battle-axe to defend his corn-mill or his farmstead.

868
In the year 868, this second wave of colonists, known to our Saxon ancestors as Northmen, and called in our day the Danes, advanced from the north and seized Nottingham, where they entrenched

themselves against the Mercian army which came against them. They were, however, unable to maintain the position, and retreated to York for the following winter; but five years later, in the spring of 874, they suddenly overwhelmed the district, their victorious career suffering no check. The Mercian king fled to Rome, leaving his people to their fate; the success of the Danes was complete, the great abbey of Repton, the burial-place of the Mercian kings, was sacked and burned, and the savage conqueror wintered around the ruins. Derby fell before the invader, and although no historian has left any details, the ruthless character of their warfare is apparent. On the one hand was the colony of Saxons, reinforced by the owners of the surrounding farmsteads, cooped up in their little town, fighting for hearth and home; on the other side, a wild horde who gloried in the horrors of war, and whose ferocity was stereotyped in the Northern church litany, for centuries afterwards, by the prayer, "From the fury of the Northmen, defend us, O Lord."

The result can never have been doubtful. The town, whose natural position of defence was weak, having no protection except the outlying castle, fell a prey to the Northmen, and the surviving Saxons fled across Trent, leaving their land and property to the conquerors.

For the succeeding thirty years Derby became a link in a strong chain of fortifications which protected the Trent valley, and formed the southern boundary of that portion of England which the Danes had subdued. Knowing that the Saxon only awaited a favourable opportunity, when he would return

reinforced to win back his lost territory, defences were executed with a boldness which shows the superiority of the Dane over the Saxon in warlike strategy. The town on the Markeaton Brook was well situated for the Saxon millowners, and as a market for the convenience of the neighbouring farmers, but overlooked as it was north and south by hills, and open to the river on the east, the Dane saw that to retain his prize and give no advantage to the enemy, he must command the heights to the southward, which still bear witness to the fact in the name Normanton, "the Northmen's town." He therefore advanced to the hill on which this village stands, and here he proceeded to erect earthworks of which the remains were, until recently, traceable in the fields around. The value of the position is recognised, for it commands a wide view of the Trent valley, including the ford at Twyford, where the Saxon highway to Repton crossed the river.

For a generation to come, the Dane had slight cause to fear an onslaught on Derby from the Saxon, for even the great Alfred, after several attempts at united action against the foe, was forced to fly and hide as an outcast in the swamps of Somerset; but in the succeeding reign matters improved, the warrior who re-organised the Saxon army and drove the Danes in defeat being the woman, Ethelfleda, who checkmated the strategy of the Danes by building a parallel line of defence along the southern slopes of the Trent valley, from whence, when the time was ripe, she advanced and crushed the foe. In the month of August, A.D. 917, Derby fell before the attack of Ethelfleda, who lost four officers during the conflict.

717

If the words of the Saxon chronicler, that these chiefs fell "within the gates," may be taken literally, they testify to the desperate resistance offered by the Dane, who continued the struggle even after the Saxon had gained the earthworks. From the hill top, one may view the expanse of the Trent valley, and in imagination

"Hear the faint echo of those brazen throats,"

as in the dusk of the early morning the Saxon horde rushed up the southern slope; for, like Alfred's great attack on the Danes at Chippenham, the earthworks at Normanton were taken by surprise, the hateful enemy was driven from the town, and the Saxon held his own once more.

The Dane, being defeated along the whole line of the Trent, retired northward, and for twenty-six years there was peace, or rather a restless truce, during which the inhabitants of Derby, conscious of the ultimate intentions of their active neighbours, ploughed and sowed, uncertain of the harvest. At length, in the year 943, the Dane swept southward with resistless force, once more the Saxon was overwhelmed, and, although the native chroniclers state that he regained the town in the following year, his success can only have been partial, for subsequent events show that the Dane finally remained master of the situation.

It is doubtful whether this later conquest was accompanied by the savage butcheries which characterised the earlier conflicts between these rivals, for about the year 950 some compromise had been effected, and the two races were living in the town under a common law. Nevertheless there is evidence

to show that the Dane possessed the greater share in the government, for the old name "Northworthige" disappears, and the Danish name "Derby" or Darby, the *town* on the *water*, takes its place.*

A story relating to the origin of the shrine and church of St. Alkmund belongs to this period of alternate mastery. This Alkmund, son of a king of Northumbria, is stated to have been slain in battle against the Danes in the year 819, and his memory being revered by his Saxon countrymen, his remains became sanctified, although it would appear more from political than from religious reasons. The church at Lilleshall, in Shropshire, where he was buried, was dedicated to his memory, and parts of his remains or relics were distributed throughout Mercia, giving origin to several shrines or churches bearing his name.

Monkish history tells us that in transferring some of the saint's bones from Lilleshall to Northumbria, the party entrusted with the mission rested at the ancient spring near the river, now known as St. Alkmund's well, or the "lion's mouth," whilst permission was asked from the Derby authorities to pass onward. The party, however, proceeded no further, for a shrine was erected at the spring, to be removed later, with the relics of the saint, to the present site of the church named after him. An inference suggested by the narrative is, that objection was taken to the passage of the relics of the Saxon prince, because the government of the town had become Danish, and a site for his remains was,

* Compare Darley or Derley (Dwr-ley), the *enclosure* by the *water*; also Duffield (Dwr-field), the *field* or *clearing* by the *water*.

consequently, found outside the walls by his sympathising countrymen, the Saxons.

It is also a matter of history that the important line of fortifications known as the Five Boroughs formed a powerful confederacy, of which the government was essentially Danish. That Derby reaped an advantage from its connection with this union there is no doubt. When the Danes invaded Mercia A.D. 874, Repton was the capital of the province, and Derby was one of a number of secondary towns; but a century later, and under the influence of the vigorous Danish rule, she entered on a career of social and commercial growth, which has continued with varying success to the present time; whilst Repton has remained stationary, a village to-day, as it was a thousand years ago. The influence and protection of the Dane-law was also useful to the town in later ages, in preventing its becoming an object of profit or greed to some neighbouring overlord, by which its growth might have been cramped in order to satisfy individual cupidity.

The century which followed the settlement of Derby under the Dane-law appears to have been a prosperous period in the early history of the town. In the year 1066 there were six churches in Derby, of which St. Mary's, which may have stood at the lower end of St. Mary's Gate, has long since disappeared. The origin of St. Werburgh's and St. Alkmund's has already been noticed; St. Alkmund's and All Saints', were each collegiate churches or small monastic establishments, beyond the town limits when first founded. St. Peter's served a small hamlet which grew up around the castle, and which, on account of

its isolated position with regard to the Saxon town, may account for the name by which St. Peter's Street is still known to old residents—namely, "The Parish." This steady extension of church property points to a growth of the town itself, and, consequently, of its trade; whilst a further indication of this prosperity is found in the evidence which shows that a bridge was thrown over the Derwent during this period, Derby becoming thus connected with Nottingham, an important town on the highway between London and York. Also, the line of churches—St. Alkmund's, St. Michael's, All Saints', and St. Peter's—marks the course through the town of the highway from the Peak to the southward—the road to Leicester, which crossed the Trent at Swarkestone.

Derby, situated securely in the centre of the kingdom, and unaffected by those struggles for the mastery which still affected London and the littoral counties, - enjoyed a century's prosperity, heedless of the slowly-gathering storm which was destined to effect so sudden a change in the government, the character, the customs, and even in the language of the people.

In September, 1066, William the Norman landed on the south coast. Harold, the Saxon king, then at York, hastened to London, probably passing through Nottingham, and leaving orders with the aldermen of the shires to march southwards with their levies.

We see the neighbouring farmers and their hinds dropping the reaping-hook and sullenly obeying the call to arms, for it was the time of corn harvest, and the landing of an enemy on the coast two hundred miles away would have had but slight effect on the

mind of the Saxon farmer intent upon his crops had not the fear of the alderman's power to punish deserters compelled him. In a few hours this rude army had marched away, for in those days there were no *impedimenta* of commissariat or ordnance to cause delay; each man filled his wallet, shouldered his battle-axe, and joined his company.

The Norman chronicler of Hastings mentions the men of Nottingham in his list of the Saxon levies who fought under King Harold, and it is presumable that the men of Derby reached the field along with them, for the two counties were in those days under the rule of one Sheriff, and the bridge at Nottingham was the chief passage over Trent. Moreover, it is shown in Domesday Book that the Derby burgesses suffered severely for their loyalty to King Harold.

With this march to Hastings the Saxon rule closes and the reign of the Norman abruptly begins.

CHAPTER II.

THE MIDDLE AGES

AUTHORITIES:—“*Derbyshire Domesday Book*,” Yeatman—“*Annales Bermundesie*”—“*Materials for History of Thomas à Becket*”—“*Annales Monasterii Burtonensis*”—*Calendars Pat. Rolls, Ed. I. to Ric. II.*—“*Notes on Derbyshire Churches*,” Cox—“*Collegiate Church of All Saints*,” Cox—“*Charters and Records, Abbey of Cluni*,” Duckett—“*Firma Burgi*,” Madox—“*History of Exchequer*,” Madox—“*History of Nottingham*,” Blackner—“*Henry II.*” (“*Statesman*” Series), Green.



THE earliest detailed account of the town of Derby is given in Domesday Book, wherein are recorded the facts submitted by those responsible townsmen who appeared before William's Commissioners, most likely at Nottingham, to relate, more or less willingly, the capabilities for taxation of their native town. The state of affairs as they existed before and after the Conquest is thus shewn in strong contrast.

In the Borough of Derby, says the record, there were 243 burgesses before the Conquest, and adjoining the town was common land divided among 41

of these burgesses, who possessed twelve ploughs also in common. Of the taxes, tolls, and custom-dues of the borough, the King took two-thirds, the remaining third going to the Earl. Of the churches, two were in the gift of the King : one, St. Alkmund's, having seven clerks who owned land in Little Chester ; the other, All Saints', having six clerks who owned land in Quorn and Little Eaton. There were also fourteen mills within the borough. Now, Geoffrey Alselin, Ralph Fitzhubert, and Norman de Lincolia have the gift of three of the churches, which before the Conquest belonged to the Saxon nobles, Tochi, Leuric, and Brun. One only remains in the gift of a Saxon named Edric, who inherited it from his father, Coln. Moreover, the King holds the land which belonged to the Saxon Algar. There are now only 140 burgesses, the remaining 103 houses being in ruins, together with four of the mills. Sixteen acres of meadow belong to the town, and sixty acres of coppice-wood. Before the Conquest, the town paid twenty-four pounds tax to the King ; now it pays thirty pounds. In Litchurch,* the King owns land enough for three ploughs, and there is also a farmer with nine cotters who own land for two ploughs, besides twelve acres of meadow.

The Abbot of Burton owns one of the Derby mills, besides arable land and thirteen acres of meadow.

* The Manor of Litchurch probably refers to the hamlet which grew up around the ruins of the earlier Saxon castle. Here stood the church of St. Peter with the priest's house and his glebe land, and near by, the farmstead of the King's tenant and the huts of the nine cotters, who farmed his estate and cultivated their own plots in their own time. The borough after the Conquest included this outlying community who henceforward paid their share of the town tax, this being the first recorded extension of the borough boundary.

The Earl Hugh also possesses land, and has the right of fishery of the river. Henry de Ferrers has land, also the Saxon priests Osmer and Godwin. At the feast of St. Martin (the 11th of November), the burgesses render to the King twelve thraves of corn, of which the Abbot of Burton is entitled to forty sheaves.

1.586 From this account it appears that twenty years after the Conquest half the town was in ruins. One hundred and three houses lay waste, for the property of all those Saxons who fought at Hastings was confiscated. During these twenty years there was no growth of trade; ten mills sufficed in place of fourteen; the Norman master had come, but not the merchant; and, as if the Saxon spirit was not yet sufficiently broken, the tax had been increased, although the population was little more than one-half of its former numbers. William, who, on his way to Nottingham after his successful campaign in Staffordshire in 1069, most probably passed through Derby, may have instituted the first steps towards its renewal by re-establishing the monastery of St. James, whose monks appear to have done much for the revival of the trade of the town. At Nottingham, we read in Domesday that Hugh Fitz-Baldric, the Sheriff, had already filled the vacant places of the Saxon townsmen with his own countrymen, who, under the patronage of their master, laid the foundation of a trade which made Nottingham the "eye of the North" in the Middle Ages; and the early charters show that this growth in trade and commerce soon extended to Derby.

Under the Saxon rule, Derby was an important

town in the kingdom of Mercia, its inhabitants sometimes following the plough, and again at intervals carrying the sword. Where such uncertainty of life and home existed, trade could never advance beyond narrow limits ; but under the Conqueror and his successors the country became an united kingdom from sea to sea, and all internal risings were rigidly suppressed by a central government. Derby, lying in the middle of this new kingdom, was destined to hear the clash of arms no more, for the Conquest divides the military from the civil history of Derby. Lying at the foot of the great mountain range which traverses England from the border to the Peak, and remote from the principal highways, it heard little of the din of battle, even during the civil wars of the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries.

From the Domesday report it is clear that the business of the town was mainly agricultural. Every chief burgess owned his piece of land on the commons adjoining, where he grew his corn or pastured his cattle, although it would be incorrect to liken the Derby of the Conquest to a large agricultural village of to-day. Derby at that time was a self-contained community, who wove their own cloth, fashioned their own ploughs, and ground their own corn, the town thus maintaining within itself, in a primitive fashion, all those trades which nowadays have disappeared from the life of the village. Besides the farms with their labourers, there was a large belt of woodland where the Saxon fattened his swine ; there were the millers who made their livelihood by grinding the farmers' corn in the small mills along the Markeaton brook, and there were the fishermen

who caught fish for the church dignitaries, or waded for eels in the marsh which lay between the town and the Derwent. Although Domesday Book is silent on the question of commerce, yet the mention of the mills, and of taxation in money and in corn, implies that the market and its local trade had not been interrupted.

England north of Trent was much later in starting in the race of commercial and social improvement which characterised the country around London. It was a land of "forests, mountains and mosses"; its inhabitants, lying far from the seat of government, were the last to be brought into subjection, a result only effected in the remoter parts by creating a desert with fire and sword; and Derby, lying near the Trent, occupied a middle condition between the progress of the home counties and the more stolid character of the North.

The stern rule of the Conqueror was mitigated by the civilising influence of the Norman clergy, a general expansion of trade being largely due to the Cluniac monks, who settled throughout the land, establishing fairs under the shadow of their monasteries. In Derby, they built or succeeded to the monastery of St. James, with which is associated the great fair of the Middle Ages, also the bridge connecting St. James's Lane with the Wardwick, at which they levied the toll, afterwards commuted by the townspeople for a payment in wax for the altar candles. It may also be noticed that the Corn Market, a broad space on the Saxon highway, stood contiguous to the monastery. Beyond the fact that it became affiliated with the larger Priory of

Bermondsey in London before the year 1140,* we get no glimpse of its people until the year 1279, when the monastery was visited by three members of the Order, who were making a tour through the country inspecting the Cluniac foundations.

They found at St. James's a prior with two monks. The prior, a Frenchman,† who had only recently succeeded to his office, is reported as a man of exemplary character. It was early in September, and he had just gathered his crop of fruit from the orchard attached to the priory. At no other place so visited was the fruit harvest so advanced, a state which may be attributed to the southern aspect of the orchard at St. James's. The buildings were spacious, but the roof of the church was somewhat dilapidated, and the visitors instructed the prior how he might repair it. Of the two monks, one was in failing health, and the visitors ordered him away to the mother church of Bermondsey (a monastery noted throughout the Middle Ages as a hospital and sanatorium), filling his place at Derby with one from their own train; although it would seem that the long and toilsome journey from Derby to London in the thirteenth century was scarcely suitable for a sick man at the point of death.

From the report, the prior and his monks lived very abstemiously, knowing nothing of luxury either in food or furniture, although it is plain that the visitors, regarded as inquisitors, were shown the best side of

* Et hoc anno (MCXL) Stephanus rex confirmavit donationem Waltheof filii Swein (Siward?) de ecclesia Sancti Jacobi de Derbye monachis de Bermundeseie.

† The visitors say regarding a house in Sussex, "Prior est Anglicus" — evidently a *rara avis*.

the management and the worst side of the finances, being received everywhere with gloomy stories of debt and hard straits. The prior at Derby told a doleful tale, that on entering into residence, he found neither money nor land, but a debt of sixty shillings, and that he had since been obliged to borrow thirty shillings to meet his liabilities.*

During the wars of Henry V. a number of Cluniac monasteries were absorbed by the Crown, under the plea that they were French foundations, but St. James's was suffered to remain, because it had become Anglicised and because of the hospital which offered shelter to travellers. Another short notice occurs in a visitation report of the year 1450, from which we learn that there was still a prior with his two monks, who performed mass daily. The same report says of Bermondsey that the monks there

* *Die lune post fuius apud Sanctum Jacobum de Derbi, cellam Bermundesie, ubi sunt duo monachi cum priore. Prior bone et laudabilis vite et fame; novus est; venit ibi in ista Purificatione; fuit unus de sociis suis bone vite, alius non bene quem misimus moraturum apud Bermundesiam et loco illius veniet alius, divina bene faciunt; prior invenit domum obligatum in LX. solidis et quod nichil invenit in domo aut patria, contraxit mutuum ita quad nunc debet IIII. lb. et X. solidos. Erat in recipiendo fructus novos, qui bene sufficient usque ad alias. Edificia bene sufficient; ecclesia non bene erat cooperata; precipimus priori quod facerat cooperari.*

The suggestion in the report that the prior and his household lived on the produce of the orchard is scarcely borne out by accounts of the Cluniacs given by secular writers. It was an old story in France in the thirteenth century that the brotherhood ate poultry on fast days because their church taught them that fish and fowl had a common origin, and they were also expert in the manufacture of hydromel, a fermented drink made from honey, which their statutes permitted them to use on stated occasions.

Nevertheless, history acknowledges to their credit that they were the first reconciling agents between the Saxons and the Normans. Following in the wake of the Conquest they instituted the great fairs, doubtless with an eye to their own revenues, yet giving a new impetus to trade which acted as a solvent to racial enmities.

practised hospitality, almsgiving, silence, and the other regular observances distinctive of the Order.

At the Dissolution in 1538, St. James's was swept away with its fellows, its annual revenue of £11 15s. 11d. being derived from the rents of land in Charnwood forest, of land and houses in Derby, from payments made by the Trinity Guild at Derby, and others, and from the Chamberlains of Derby for the right to pass over St. James's bridge on St. James's Day.

Up the Markeaton valley, but some distance beyond the outskirts of medieval Derby, stood the Benedictine Nunnery of St. Mary de Pratis, founded about 1160 by the Abbot of Darley. Its financial history reveals a somewhat chequered career. In the following century, Henry III. granted the nuns a hundred shillings a year to say masses for the soul of his father, King John; but, either through scarcity of revenue or from poor management, affairs assumed a gloomy aspect by the year 1328, when a royal mandate was issued authorising two persons to take charge of the house for three years, it having fallen into poverty and debt. After providing for the prioress and nuns, these trustees were to use the balance towards placing the establishment in a more respectable position. In 1393, however, the nuns received from Thomas Touchett and others a handsome gift comprising a house, three acres of meadow, and thirty-five acres of pasture,—the Nun's Green of a later period. Still, all did not go well, for about the year 1400, there was a fire at the nunnery, and, amongst other effects, the valuable parchment granting them the hundred shillings per annum from

the Nottingham Crown-rent was burnt. Fearful lest the Nottingham burgesses might hear of their misfortune and profit by it, they approached King Henry IV. for a new charter, which he was pleased to grant in the same terms as before.

Like the priory of St. James, their habitation has almost disappeared, leaving little but the name. Excavations made in improving modern Derby disclosed the bones of the former old-world recluses, showing that they possessed their little cemetery within the priory walls; and in a house near Nun's Bridge may yet be seen a Gothic archway which long ago formed part of the ancient nunnery of St. Mary-in-the-Meadows.

The Black Friars, the religious revivalists of their day, established themselves on the verge of the town in 1292, their poverty and their outspokenness gaining them the ear of the working class in Derby, as elsewhere; but as time passed, gifts of land and property changed the begging friar into the fat idler of Chaucer's day. The Friary at Derby gradually became wealthy; the building was considerably enlarged in 1319, and again in 1340, its substantial and spacious character being apparent as late as 1610, long after the Dissolution. After two centuries of silence, the veil is lifted on its last moments in 1539, when the Prior, Laulans Sponar (Laurence Spooner?), with his fellows, made over the Friary to the King, together with their possessions in the counties of Derby, York, Nottingham, and Leicester.

In the fourteenth century we obtain a glimpse of the internal working of the Leper Hospital of

St. Leonard, which stood far out of the town along the Ashby road, an institution which appears to have been in a constant state of disorder. In 1328 the King appointed three of his officers to inquire into a case of misconduct reported of the house, and to punish the inmates accordingly. In the following year the King appointed Thomas Goldynham, his clerk, to act as master of the house for life, but this man, together with another of the King's officers, who had recently been appointed to collect the bridge tolls, had proved untrustworthy, and, on the petition of the town-bailiffs and burgesses, had been removed. Under the rule of a man of such character, it is not surprising that matters did not mend, and in 1340 three gentlemen, Richard de Wylughby, Roger de Baukwell, and Richard de la Pole, were appointed to visit the hospital, "which is greatly decayed by misrule." In 1378, King Richard II. found on inquiry that Henry de Coton, clerk and custodian of the hospital, had been suddenly ejected by William de Pakynton, who had obtained, by false representation, letters-patent granting him the custody of the hospital in the previous year. On learning the true state of the case, the King revoked his letters-patent, and ordered the bailiffs of Derby to re-instate Coton.

The greatest and most important religious establishment connected with Derby, however, was the Abbey of Darley. In the Norman period this foundation was removed to Darley from St. Helen's, in Derby, in consequence of Hugh, Dean of Derby, granting them a site there, together with his estate in the town, and other valuable adjuncts. Consequently, the Abbot of Darley became a large owner

of property in the town, besides enjoying the endowments of St. Peter's, St. Michael's, and St. Werburgh's. His property in Derbyshire and the adjoining counties was also valuable, and he must have been a person of great social influence in Derby, and for many miles around. Like most of the monastic institutions of that period, the Abbey derived a considerable revenue from the growth and sale of wool, which passed through the Derby market, much of it being exported to Flanders, for the Flemish price-lists of about the year 1300 mention Darley Abbey wool amongst others.

The rich and powerful Abbot does not appear to have cultivated the friendship of the people of Derby, either lay or clerical, one dispute between the Abbot and the College of All Saints' assuming such proportions that it was referred to a Papal court for settlement; although it is probable that the smaller religious communities in the town simply bowed to his will and pleasure. The Friars paid him seven nobles a year, and the townspeople paid him two shillings a year for the fishery of the Derwent, although they complained that the Abbot utilised the water of the river to their disadvantage. About 1384, there were scandalous tales of high and extravagant living at the Abbey, which the Derby people no doubt repeated with unction, and were not displeased when in that year it was decreed that the King had taken over the Abbey revenues for four years, on account of "divers oppressions and wrongs done to it by its adversaries, causing a diminution of its revenues and of divine service and other works of piety."

These religious houses, with their trade and influence, established a degree of security which was of the greatest value to the merchant and the farmer, a condition further enhanced by the downfall of the old feudal baronage which followed the insurrection of 1174. Taking advantage of Henry's absence in France, and of his unpopularity in the towns, owing to the recent murder of Becket, the barons rose in revolt, and fortified a line of castles across the centre of England. Henry, wise in his generation, reconciled the towns and the clergy to his cause by doing penance at the tomb of Becket, and the rebellious barons were obliged to rely for assistance on foreign mercenaries. One of the chief rebels was Earl Ferrers, who fortified his castles at Duffield, Tutbury and Stafford, but the King's forces came no nearer to Derby than Tutbury, which surrendered, when the rebellion was rapidly suppressed, and Duffield Castle, along with others, was forfeited to the Crown. Henry established confidence by travelling through the district from Lichfield to Nottingham in the summer of 1175, although the murder of the Archbishop* must have made a deep impression on the Derby townspeople, as Becket's chapel and well testify. The nunnery also possessed a relic—part of the shirt of the martyred Archbishop, which did duty for centuries on those domestic

* That he was generally regarded as a martyr in Derby and neighbourhood appears from the entry in the chronicle of Burton Abbey—“Sanctus Thomas Archiepiscopus passus est.”

This short, concise entry may imply caution on the part of the Abbey scribe, for it is said that an accomplice of the assassins was a baron of the neighbourhood, Robert Fitz-Ralph, Lord of Alfreton. Dugdale indeed claims him as one of the four principals in the murder—a palpable error.

occasions when the nuns went abroad in the capacity of a modern monthly nurse,—a relic answering this description having belonged to Darley Abbey, the parent institution of the nunnery.

The grants of land and property made to these religious institutions show that the merchant class was growing in wealth and influence. The Crown, whose revenues always fell short of its necessities, was not slow to share in the advantages which were, in a measure, its due, for the merchant and craftsman could not have given steady and unbroken attention to the affairs of the market and the workshop had they not been assisted by a strong central government to secure internal peace and fair security for life and property.

The policy of Henry II. fostered the merchants in those towns whose members were useful in his struggles with his too-powerful baronage, although it is with the charter of King John, fifty years later, that the relations between the Crown and the merchant class began to assume a purely commercial aspect. This charter cost Derby a sum which in our day might be equal to five hundred pounds; the Crown rent, also, was raised by one-third, being about a thousand pounds a year in modern currency. It contained some valuable privileges, the practical worth of which was soon realised, for in the following reign new grants were added, for which the town again paid heavily. These charters, amongst other advantages, allowed the burgesses to choose their own bailiff and coroner—the one the collector of the King's tolls and taxes; the other, of the fines and forfeitures due to the King in the borough courts.

Previously these officers were appointed by the Crown, and the holders, being strangers, and under no sense of obligation to the townspeople, used methods of collecting the revenues and of conducting suits between the burgesses and the Crown which were naturally arbitrary and partial. Additions in subsequent charters empowered the burgesses to hold the Assizes at Derby alternately with Nottingham, by which suits could be tried in the presence of their own officers, and the status of the town raised by the visits of the judge, with his train, and of the county gentry. In the year 1328, the Sheriff was ordered to provide suitable accommodation for the Judge of Assize, which date may mark the origin of the County Hall in St. Mary's Gate.

It is evident that these charters were regarded as valuable town properties, and had the Crown been satisfied with such methods of adding to its revenues, its dignity would not have been impaired; but expensive wars and rapacious Court favourites drained the royal exchequer, and the Crown, through its officers, often resorted to sordid and paltry methods of extorting money, both from public bodies and private individuals. In 1283, Edward I. seized the town charter because the Merchant Guild was said to have misused its privileges; but as it was returned to them on payment of a fine, this appears to have been one of the many indirect methods of increasing the royal revenues. In the following reign, the King granted part of the town rent to his wife Isabella, having previously applied the same portion to another purpose. The townspeople were not slow to intimate that they were not liable for the

same amount twice, and the King, having no case, quietly cancelled the second payment. In the succeeding reign, the burgesses were commanded to prove their claim to certain privileges, with the usual imposition of a fine.

It is, however, in the dealings of the Crown with individuals that its powers of extortion and injustice are most glaringly shown. An instance occurred in Derby in the reign of Edward II., which was only one of many throughout the kingdom. In or about the year 1308, the King's Escheator, an official generally dreaded for his rapacity, decided that certain twelve shops in the Market Place in Derby were encroachments on the public place, to the annoyance of the King and the townspeople—a description corresponding with the old Rotten Row. They were forthwith escheated, or taken from the lawful owners and absorbed by the Crown. The owners were John de la Cornere, a townsman of wealth and consequence; Payn le Draper; Nicholas le Lorimer, and Agnes le Coupere (whose names probably denote the trades they followed); Walter de London, Vicar of St. Werburgh's; John de Chaddesden; Ranulph de Hieling; John Proudfoote; and Robert de Etton. Whether these people were summarily ejected, or allowed to continue their several businesses as Crown tenants at a rental, is not stated; but in 1316, under another escheator, it was proved that this property was not an encroachment, as stated by the late officer, whereupon the King ordered that it should be returned to the rightful owners.

The neighbouring nobility were not slow in imitating the methods of the Sovereign and his

agents, for, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there appears to have been a long series of disputes between the townspeople and the Touchetts and Meynells, of Markeaton and neighbourhood. In the complaint of 1276, it is stated that the bailiffs of Thomas Touchett, of Markeaton, distressed the townspeople passing over Essebourn (Ashbourne) ford ; and in the following century, we find Thomas Touchett farming the King's rent in Derby, a post remunerative to the collector, but always obnoxious to the community.

A dispute, however, which reached the proportions of a general riot, occurred in 1341 between the townspeople and Touchett's neighbour, Hugh de Meygnill (Meynell). The origin of the trouble is not stated, but he complains that many of the townspeople (sixty-five of whom are mentioned by name) took away his horse and mare and his goods, besides ten pounds in money, at Derby, and assaulted his men and his servants there and at Markeaton. The other side of the story is missing, although a glimpse of history some nineteen years earlier shows that the Meynells were not slow to assert themselves. In the Annals of St. Werburgh's for 1322 it is recorded that during a quarrel, Hugh Meynell, of Langley, "violently shed blood within the church" ; and whatever was the cause of the trouble in 1341, it is evident that strong feeling prevailed to cause a general uprising of the townspeople which takes rank with the riots of 1610 and 1831.

In addition to this slowly-dying enmity between the Saxon and the Norman races, the question of direct taxation, always uncertain both as to time and

amount, must have caused much irritation in such an outlying community as Derby, where little of the glory and none of the spoils of war ever came. Taxation under the later Plantagenets, although in many cases it resembled spoliation, had at least the sanction of Parliament, and was preferable to the insecurity which prevailed previous to the signing of *Magna Charta* in 1215. An instance is on record of the year 1200, when Isolt, the widow of one Philip of Derby, paid King John twenty marks for power to repudiate all debts owing by her late husband, the King agreeing for this sum to shield her from her creditors.

Such gross injustice became unknown after the law was codified, although the later Plantagenets, to replenish their empty exchequers, often adopted unscrupulous measures. Edward I. encouraged foreign merchants by granting them privileges detrimental to his own subjects, for which favours these foreigners made him large grants. The merchants of Derby and elsewhere, in retaliation, raised their market-prices when these people came to trade, and the King, in turn, punished the town with a fine.

In 1339, Edward III. was permitted by Act of Parliament to take a moiety of the wool in the markets of the kingdom, and the Derby exciseman, Simon de Cestre and his assistants, consequently seized the King's share, in the town market, irrespective of special privilege or exemption. The town merchants submitted to the impost with the best grace possible, for the guilds of the more important towns had arranged

the terms with the King; but it happened that, amongst others, the exciseman seized four sacks and six stones of wool belonging to the Abbot of Darley, whose property was taxed through another channel, and who, on making complaint, was promised restitution by the King in the sum of £21 3s. od., to be paid in two half-yearly instalments. This irregular method of taxation did not improve the honesty of the officers engaged in the work, for, following this seizure, a royal mandate was issued ordering Richard Hervy to appear before the Council, charged with fraud in collecting the wool, he having been in collusion with Henry de Howes, of Derby, one of the receivers.

Richard II. adopted the method of borrowing money from the towns on his own security, a transaction equivalent to a grant, and, in 1397, Derby advanced twenty pounds under this arrangement.

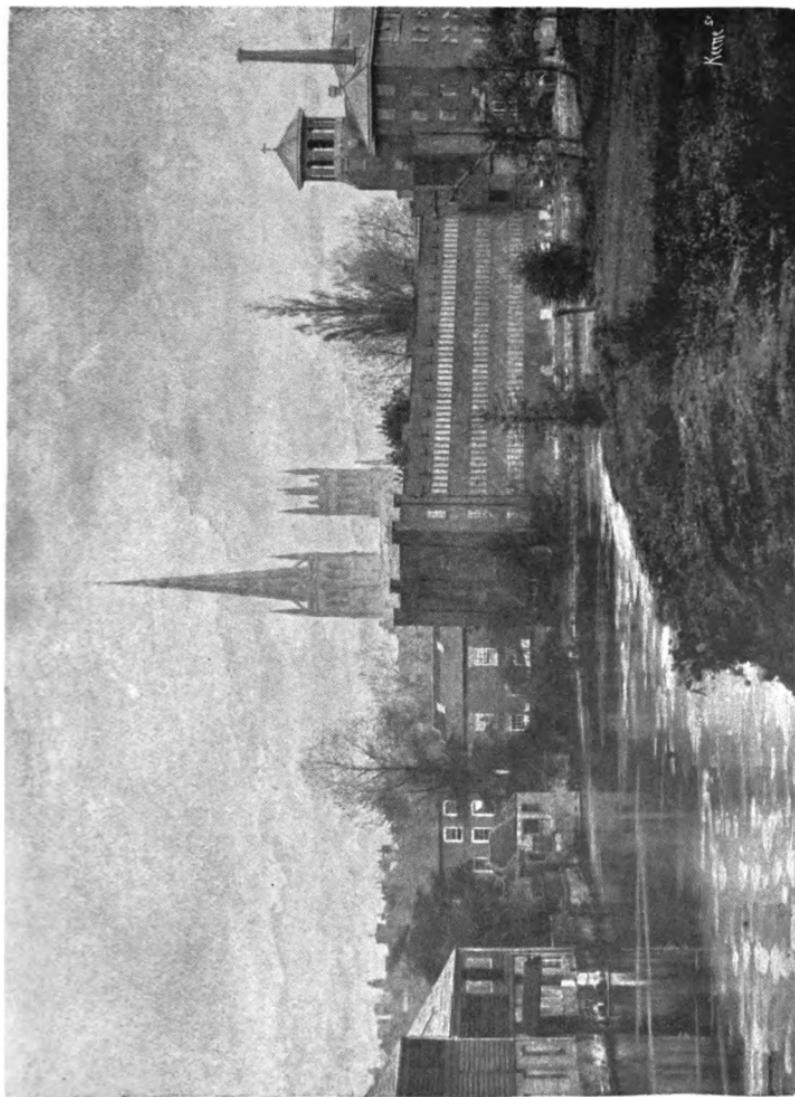
Considering such interference with trade and business, it is not surprising that the townspeople took every means which came within their power to retaliate. With the keen and energetic statesmen, Edward I. and his grandson, Edward III., this was difficult; but under the reign of the feeble monarchs, Edward II. and Henry VI., the people took advantage of their opportunities. In the first year of the reign of Edward II. (1307), the town refused to pay the sum of £106 17s. od., and the Sheriff, William de Chelaston, was forthwith ordered to seize the goods of Walter de London, Vicar of St. Werburgh's, to the value of about ten pounds, being the Vicar's proportion. The seizure included his hay, corn, agricultural implements, and a few metal utensils, the

Vicar evidently adding farming to his clerical vocation. Both Edward II. and his son exacted tallages from their royal demesnes, although not without demur and difficulty in collection; and Derby at this time belonged to the Crown, the burgesses being styled in 1256, "Burgenses Regis de Derbia."

Again, in the year 1452, the townsmen withheld the borough tax, for the King was weak, the two factions of York and Lancaster were on the eve of the long Wars of the Roses, and the Derby men had little fear of coercion from headquarters. In that year the bailiffs, Richard Wright and Richard Fox, were summoned to appear before the Sheriff for non-payment of the town rent due to the Crown, the bailiffs being held personally responsible.

In the year 1460, the appointment of a Recorder shows that the medieval trading Guild had changed its character and had become an incipient borough Corporation, meeting in the Town Hall. The old borough court, which was doubtless held in St. Werburgh's churchyard during the days of Saxon Northworthige, had been gradually superseded by the County Hall, where the Assizes were held from 1328, and where the Quarter Sessions followed on the creation of Justices of the Peace during the fifteenth century. As the Guild also gradually changed its character and declined, the functions of its ancient court were transferred to the bailiffs and a rudimentary Town Council or Common Hall, the appointment of a Recorder marking the completion of the change, when Latin had almost disappeared from the courts of law, and the actions and bye-laws

Kerr



OLD SILK MILL,
From the River Derwent.

of the Corporation were recorded in the English tongue.

Some fifty years later, these clerks began to jot down the more important events in the life of the town, a valuable if scanty record which constitutes the chief local history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

CHAPTER III.

PERIOD OF TOWN RECORDS (1500-1732)

AUTHORITIES:—*Calendars of State Papers, etc.*, *Henry VIII.* to *Charles II.*—“*Three Centuries Derbyshire Annals*,” *Cox*—“*Life of Mary Queen of Scots*,” *Cowan*—*Sadler State Papers*—“*Lettres et Mémoires de Marie Stuart*”—“*History Great Civil War*,” *Gardiner*—*Calendar, Clarendon State Papers*—“*Life of George Fox*,” *Hodgkin*—“*History of Uttoxeter*,” *Redfern*—“*History of the Printing Press in Derbyshire*,” *Wallis*.



THE history of Derby during the sixteenth century relates almost entirely to the religious controversies of the time, although the first thirty years was a period of quiet, during which the lofty tower of All Saints' slowly rose, to form, as it were, the last monument of the old religion in Derby. As a noble example of the Perpendicular style in architecture, it remains to-day, as it was in Hutton's time, “the pride of the place.” With it is associated a tradition, at least as old as the Tudor period, that part of the expense was defrayed by the offerings of the unmarried people of the neighbourhood, and the curious may still see the words, “Yong

men and maydens" on the string-course which marks the limit of their efforts. The priests who watched its slow growth from their college under the shadow of the church were soon to disappear, the Gothic edifice which it so nobly adorned was destined to fall later before the hand of the Vandal, yet the tower of All Saints' still dominates the town, as conspicuous to the modern traveller approaching Derby as it was to the wayfarer in the days of the Tudors.

This work could scarcely have been finished when Henry VIII. began to put into execution his designs for the suppression of the religious houses. The first intimation of his policy in Derby appears to have been a demand to the Prior of St. James's, in 1532, to render an account of the emoluments of the monastery. With what bitter thoughts and gloomy forebodings the statement was prepared may be imagined; on the other hand, it is easy to over-estimate the extent of the change as felt by the actual onlookers. The secular clergy were not deeply concerned in the fate of the regulars of the monasteries, for the sympathy between the two classes had never been cordial, and it may be that some of the town clergy witnessed the deposition of their less fortunate brethren with feelings akin to pleasure.

In 1537, in the very midst of the turmoil, Robert Thacker, Vicar of St. Werburgh's, wrote a letter to his brother Thomas, who occupied the important post of private secretary to Thomas Cromwell, the King's Vicar-General, yet no mention occurs therein of the momentous changes which were happening on all sides. "I hear my cousin, James Thacker, has

written to you for money," he says, and then counsels his brother against advancing it. After giving their cousin Thacker a poor character as a man of business, the letter changes to a more tender strain. "My mother," the writer continues, "says she would fain see you ere she die. I fear me lest we shall have her but a while in this world, for she breaks marvellously."

The sole aim of the clergy seems to have been to make the best terms possible for themselves. The town clergy were anxious to leap into the vacancies which the times made plentiful; whilst the monastic clergy bargained with the Government agents for the amount of pension to be saved from the wreck of their property. In a letter from Richard Strete to Thomas Cromwell, dated April 26th, 1533, the writer states that he has heard the Archdeacon of All Saints', Derby, is about to be made a bishop, and he would be glad to succeed to the vacancy, giving his reason with a bluntness characteristic of the times. "I should like," he says, "to change my Archdeaconry of Salop for that of Derby, which is better by twenty pounds." His letter was covered by a recommendation from Rowland Lee, the divine who performed the private marriage ceremony between Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, and this influence proved successful, for Lee was still a Court favourite.

Thomas Thacker, Cromwell's secretary, was naturally not slow in asking his master for such of the spoil as came within his reach. In a letter to him dated September 23rd, 1538, he says: "I have for three months laboured to the abbot of Darleigh,

near where I was born (Repton), and where my poor lands lie, to surrender his home to the King. I trust shortly to have his letter thereof, and beg your Lordship to help me to the house and goods." He was evidently aware that the Abbot of Darley was about to agree to terms, for the surrender followed within a month of his letter, the Abbot, Thomas Rag, renouncing his claim to the Abbey and its numerous territorial possessions for a yearly pension of fifty pounds; the Prior, the sub-Prior, and ten monks receiving smaller pensions according to position, and fifty-seven servants belonging to the monastery and Abbey farm being dismissed with a small sum in hand.

Meanwhile, the smaller kindred institutions in the town shared the same fate. The nuns of King's Mead were turned adrift, a lease of their Priory being granted to Thomas Sutton; and the Prior of St. James's, Thomas Gaynesborow, retired on a small pension of seven pounds a year. In 1537, the Black Friars in Derby presented for the King's inspection an ancient charter of protection which was duly confirmed, although it proved of no avail, for early in 1539, the Friars surrendered their Priory to the Commissioners; but it was rumoured that this Order generally had diverted much of its property before the crash came.

Wild stories of a general insurrection were whispered about in the town and neighbourhood, although the common people appear to have taken little part in the proceedings. In the scanty annals of the town no mention is made of these changes, whilst such matters as a dispute with Justices of the

Peace at the Town Hall, or a struggle between two local gentlemen at St. Peter's Church, are considered worthy of record. Cromwell's agents reported that the poor in the district were tractable, and were only waiting for suitable religious instructors, but that the rich were shockingly immoral. This may mean that the poor were apathetic, and that the county gentry were averse to the policy of the Government, preferring the old order of things. A busybody named Billingford who was at Darley Abbey in 1535 repeated a rumour that "one coat of religion, the Black Monks, had gathered £160,000 for an insurrection, and that the money had been shipped in wool-packs at Southampton to the Pope at Rome." He also narrated a story, which, if true, shows the consternation into which the nuns of St. Mary were thrown by the rumours of the Dissolution. He called, he said, at their Priory, and asked Joan More, one of the nuns, the age of the Prioress who was absent, and how many nuns lived there. He also examined their granary, and altogether behaved so like a Government agent that the nuns were much troubled as to what his visit portended.

Around the metropolis the people in general sympathised with the Government in their overthrow of the old religion; but north of Trent opinion was more evenly divided, and a strong party remained in defence of the old system. Derby and Nottingham, as usual, allied themselves with the southern half of the country and remained loyal to the Government.

The Catholic rising in Yorkshire in November, 1536, was felt only indirectly in Derby and neighbourhood. The Earl of Shrewsbury, Lord Steward

of the Household, received orders from the Government, that in case the rebels should assemble, he must advance as far as Derby and defend the bridges and other passages there. Shrewsbury, with a clearer view of the situation and aided by local knowledge which the Crown agents did not possess, replied that Derby was totally unsuitable from a strategical point of view, but added that "four miles from Derby is a river called Trent, where is a common way, a great cawsey, and a bridge in a plain country, which, if they come to Derby, must be kept." The plan he recommended to the King was to protect the Trent from Swarkestone Bridge to Nottingham; and the King at once showed his appreciation of the scheme by asking for maps of the Trent with its fords and bridges, and an estimate of the number of men required to effect Shrewsbury's purpose. The rebellion, however, was crushed on the banks of the Don, and beyond these proposed preparations Derby took no further part in the outbreak. Shrewsbury was relieved of an unpleasant task, for he had already written to Cromwell complaining of his extreme feebleness, and begging that he might be relieved by some younger man. He died in less than two years afterwards.

The dissolution of the monasteries and the subsequent changes in the English Church were not without their effect on the social condition of the people. The system of dispensing alms and charities to the poor became modified; the money which the wealthy had been accustomed to leave to a neighbouring monastery or church for a new chantry where masses could be sung daily for their souls, now began to be diverted to the building of almshouses

or the dispensing of bread to the poor parishioners after service. An instance combining the old method with the new occurred at St. Peter's in Derby, where the master-dyer, Robert Liversage, left money, partly for a chantry and partly as a dole; and the new system of charity is seen in the Devonshire alms-houses built by the famous "Bess of Hardwick."

In the last years of Henry VIII., and during the reign of his son Edward VI., ecclesiastical matters had arrived at a state of uncertainty and change, in which destruction appeared to figure as the chief factor. Records remain of inventories drawn up during the short reign of Edward VI., in which mention is made of the gorgeous robes and draperies which covered the figures of the Virgin and of the Child Jesus in the church of All Saints, and even in the small chapel of St. Mary-on-the-Bridge. These inventories of vestments, mass-books, and altar plate, show that such ornaments were about to give place to the plain altars and simpler ritual of the First Book of Common Prayer. In the list of church books given in the inventory of All Saints' are two missals, and it may be that one of these very books which has escaped the destroying zeal of those times may still be seen in the library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge. It is a Sarum missal dating from about the year 1061, and, from its red binding, known as the "Derby Red Book." This volume was regarded for centuries as possessing supernatural powers, for on the last page some person, in the style of the Reformation period, has written the following:—"The Red Boke of darbye in the peake of darbyshire. This booke was sumtime had in such reverence in darbieshire

that it was comonlie beleved that whosoever should sweare untruelie uppon this booke should run madd."

The re-establishment of Popery in the days of Queen Mary is very forcibly illustrated in the history of Derby by the martyrdom of Joan Waste, the blind girl who was burnt to death in Windmill Pit in 1556. She seems to have brought herself under the notice of the authorities of All Saints' Church by her out-spoken denial of some of the doctrines of the Romish faith, and, according to Fox, was even accustomed to frequent the town gaol, speaking to and exhorting the prisoners in the new religion. The case was reported to the bishop of the diocese, although he, to his credit, did his utmost to explain away the girl's statements and thus allow the matter to lapse. A broad-minded bishop, however, in those days occupied an unenviable position, for he must either show his zeal for the Church and hurt his conscience, or, by his slackness in the cause, render himself an object of suspicion to the Government. He came to Derby and questioned the girl, and but for the interference of his Chancellor would have pronounced her innocent of heresy. The latter, however, seems to have been as anxious to find a case as the bishop was to avoid one; and in the end, the Government was advised of the circumstances, and the dreadful writ, "De heretico comburendo," was sent down.

The girl met her fate with a trust and composure which showed the firmness of her conviction, the awful punishment being witnessed by a great concourse of people. As Fox narrates in his simple style how her brother led the blind girl hand-in-hand from All Saints' Church to the scene of execution, one can

sympathise with Hutton, who in his boyhood lingered around the spot of Joan Waste's martyrdom and mused over its sad memories. The scene must have made a lasting impression on the spectators, for it is one of the few local traditions still surviving among the common people.

With the accession of Elizabeth, two years later, the Church of England again became predominant, and in a few years began to persecute both Puritans and Romanists. In 1588, three recusant priests, Garlick, Ludlam and Simpson, were hanged, drawn and quartered at Derby, their severed limbs being afterwards exposed on St. Mary's Bridge, until "two resolute Catholic gentlemen" privately removed them for burial.

A glimpse of the divisions between these two religious parties is afforded in a letter written by Robert Bainbridge to the Government in 1592, containing a list of Papists, open or suspected, among the county nobility. This he did, he writes, "for love of the Gospel and the Queen's safety."

Some of the county nobility, chief among them being "Bess of Hardwick," managed to temporise with both parties; but the FitzHerberts and others, active in the Roman Catholic interest, were less fortunate. John FitzHerbert, after the confiscation of his property, was thrown into Derby gaol, where he remained for two years. The place, always insanitary, was rendered worse by the number of recusants crowded there at this time, and his son Anthony (described by Bainbridge as "the most noted recusant in Derbyshire"), being confined there for over three years, suffered severely from the gaol-fever which was rampant.

Recusant priests, in spite of the terrible punishments that threatened them, flitted from one country house to another, dispensing the sacraments, carrying news domestic and foreign, and maintaining a Roman Catholic combination, which the Government considered dangerous to the safety of the Queen's person and to the State. In 1593, a priest named Robert Gray confessed that he recently paid a visit to Margaret Thomson at Langley, knowing that she had just been released from Derby gaol, where her husband was still imprisoned as a Popish recusant. He had also said mass at Mr. Langford's house at Longford, a mansion suspected of harbouring these priestly fugitives for several years.

It was in the midst of this period of plots and counterplots that the famous Queen of Scots passed one night in Derby on her journey from Wingfield Manor to Tutbury Castle (January, 1585). The Government, knowing that she was the idol of the English Romanists, and always fearful lest some new attempt might be made to release her from captivity, were anxious that the journey should be made across country in a single day, to avoid the publicity of passing through the county town. Sir Ralph Sadler, who had the custody of the Queen of Scots, was as anxious as the Government to avoid risk, but pronounced the journey across country to be impossible, on account of the many hills and woods. Mary, who, as is well known, was lame through rheumatism, could only make the journey by coach, and the only route by which this vehicle could be taken was through Derby. Even the road from Wingfield to Derby appears from Sadler's letters

to have been almost impassable, being evidently little better than a packhorse way ; but he caused the road to be surveyed previous to the journey, and arranged temporary deviations at points where it would have been impossible to pull the coach through. In his opinion, the road was " very evell," and the journey of sixteen miles too far for one day.

It was at first intended to begin the journey on Monday, January 11th, but as this was found to clash with the Quarter Sessions at Derby, when there would be more people in the town than usual, the departure was postponed until Wednesday, the 13th. Sadler wrote to the town authorities, giving them strict orders to maintain quiet in the streets, and " to provyde that there be no assemble of gasing (gazing) people." He also wrote to Sir John Zouch and four other county gentlemen, to wait on the Queen at Derby, each with a small train of servants. On the morning of the thirteenth, he wrote to Lord Burghley and to Walsingham, advising them of the arrangements he had made, and the Queen of Scots at the same time despatched a letter to her cousin Elizabeth, of England, which concluded as follows :— " As I enter my coach, I kiss your hand and pray God to give you, madam, my good sister, long and happy life, and to me your good will."* It is one

* " De Wingfield le 13 janvier (1585).

" Madame ma bonne sœur,
 " . . . Aussitost que j'auray un peu
 " recouvert mes forces à Tutebury je ne fauldray vous
 " escrire sur vostre response à mes articles et espère
 " que vous en demeurerez satisfaictie. Cependant preste
 " à entrer en mon cosche je vous bayse les mayns et
 " prie Dieu qu'il vous donne madame ma bonne sœur
 " longue et heureuse vie, et à moy vostre bonne grace.
 " Vostre humble et très affectionatée sœur et cousine,
 " MARIE R."

of the grim facts in history that the hand she affected to kiss signed, two years later, the warrant for her execution.

The journey appears to have been made without mishap, due, perhaps, to the completeness of the preparations made by Sir Ralph. Moreover, the day was fine, and the heavy luggage and most of the servants had gone forward some days previously. The party entered Derby over St. Mary's Bridge, and made their way through the streets, deserted save for the burgesses who had been sworn as special constables to watch at each corner, or to patrol the Market Place, and reached the journey's end near St. Peter's Church, at Babington House, a mansion belonging to the unfortunate Anthony Babington, who was destined to lose his life in the conspiracy which decided the fate of the Queen of Scots.

Here occurred an incident which afterwards brought down on Sir Ralph a sharp reprimand from headquarters. The hostess, a widow named Beaumont, had invited a few neighbours, apparently to assist in giving the royal lady a reception suitable to her position; but this excess of hospitality did not escape the notice of one Somers, an agent of the Government, who intruded himself into the rooms occupied by the Queen and her people. In due course Sir Ralph was taken to task on the subject, and was obliged to write an humble explanation, in which he incidentally complains that he was kept awake all night at his inn opposite, partly through anxiety and partly by the noise made by the special watchmen who paraded the street calling the hour.

On the morrow the company was reinforced by the county gentry whom Sadler had invited, and who, with their servants, armed and mounted, accompanied the Queen's coach out of the town and along the Uttoxeter Road to Tutbury.

A glimpse of the character of this fascinating woman is afforded in Sadler's letter relating what took place at Babington House. The Queen of Scots advanced and kissed her hostess, assuring her, with a frankness of speech common to the time, that "she also was a widow, and therefore trusted that they should agree well enough together, having no husbands to trouble them." In the journey from Derby she thanked the gentlemen for their courtesy in escorting her, and told Sir Ralph that she felt grateful to her Majesty for the honour done to her. Sadler states that he thought she was sincere in her belief that the escort had been arranged to do her honour, when in reality it was ordered by the Government to "make a shew of feare" should any zealous Roman Catholics have conspired to rescue her. His anxiety of mind was not improved by the appearance of a gentleman suddenly leaving his house at Hilton and speeding on horseback across country. No untoward incident, however, occurred. Tutbury Castle was reached in safety, and here for two years Mary Stuart lived, passing her time, as she told a visitor, "with her nydill, and contynued so long at it till very payne made her give it over"; although it is to be feared that her employment was not always of so innocent a nature, for it was at Tutbury that the letters were written which involved her in the conspiracy for which nominally she suffered.

The story of her arrest in the forest around Tutbury Castle and of her removal to Fotheringay, where she was tried and beheaded in February, 1587, belongs to the general history of the time, as also does the question of her innocence or complicity in the plot in which young Babington was a central figure.

Whatever may be the consensus of opinion on her character, the eagerness of the Government in hunting for evidence with which to incriminate her has done much to prejudice their case in the judgment of posterity. The Queen of Scots had only been settled a few weeks at Tutbury when an agent of the Government suggested to Walsingham that the carrier between Derby and Tutbury, one Alsop, should be secretly arrested whilst on his journey, and examined before some Justice of the Peace. Alsop had for some time carried parcels openly for the Queen of Scots, and the Government suspected that he might be the medium of a treasonable correspondence. He was to be searched if necessary, but charged upon oath not to disclose what had happened, so that, says the writer, "it may perhaps be the better kept from her knowledge." Evidently the writer's motive in recommending secrecy was not that of respect for the feelings of the royal prisoner, but that the Government might still continue secretly to watch her correspondence.

At the time of Mary's removal to Tutbury the anxiety of the Government concerning the secret plottings of the Romanist party was at its height; but the execution of the Queen in 1587, and the utter defeat of the Spanish Armada in the following

year, allowed the Government and the Protestant party to breathe more freely, although imprisonment of their opponents long continued. As late as the year 1611, Mary Langford, belonging to a Roman Catholic family which had suffered persecution for a generation, was deprived of her property as a Popish recusant.

These religious troubles were confined principally to the county gentry, for there is little or no evidence that the common people in Derby were deeply interested in matters of this nature; they had other things to think about. Famine, because of the changes in land tenure, recurred more frequently than formerly, and plague followed in its train, decimating the people in 1592-3, so that in All Saints' parish "there were not two houses together free from it." The miserable condition of the people is apparent from the reports made to the Government in 1623, which also show that, notwithstanding these periodical famines, the landowners resented the recent importation of rye from abroad, and objected to any attempt to remedy thus the evils of scarcity.

The Puritan party, steadily increasing in strength and numbers in London and the home counties, did not figure conspicuously in the religious life of Derby previous to the Civil War, although the troubles of the latter half of the seventeenth century show that Presbyterians, Quakers and Baptists were growing in numbers in town and neighbourhood. On the outbreak of the Civil War, Derby did not declare itself strongly for either party, for the county gentry resolved themselves into Roundhead and Cavalier, without any leader of distinction to give



ST. JAMES'S LANE
(Now ST. JAMES'S STREET).

prominence to either side. Consequently, this great convulsion in the political history of England during the seventeenth century is not memorable in the town's history for any great movement or any decisive action performed there, although the efforts made by Charles I. to levy taxes without the consent of Parliament were as stoutly resisted in Derby as in the country generally.

In the early part of his reign the King endeavoured to collect a general loan, but met with very partial success. The Commissioners for Derbyshire reported to the Council in September, 1626, that in some Hundreds every man refused to pay; in others "they thrust their denial on the Justices with a great and joint noise," saying they would give, "but only by way of Parliament." This method having failed, Charles revived the ancient tax of ship-money, and, contrary to precedent, levied it on inland and maritime counties alike.

In the assessment for this tax Derby was rated at £120, and Sir John Gell, the Sheriff, set about the work of collecting it with a high hand; but the Derby men were in no hurry to meet his demands, and he complains to the Secretary of State in September, 1635, that "they will neither suffer him to be present at their assessments, neither admit he has anything to do with them, or to receive moneys from them." He is evidently annoyed at this rebuff, speaks of the "ill example" which Derby is setting other towns, and concludes his letter by spitefully informing the Government that Derby, instead of paying £120, is "very well able to bear £250 or £300," there being "many very rich men

in the town." Consequently, the levy was raised to £175, but several of the townspeople still refused to pay, and threatened to sue the Sheriff if he distrained on their property.

The bitter feeling which this action of the Sheriff engendered is shown in a letter from the bailiffs to the Council four months later, in which they speak of the "unwarranted burden which the late Sheriff Gell thrust upon them." They had, however, collected the amount (£175) with much difficulty, and had paid it over to the then Sheriff, Sir John Harpur. The following year (1637) is memorable on account of the trial of John Hampden, who refused to pay the tax, and whose public-spirited action raised the courage of the country party. Its effect was apparent in Derby, where the bailiffs, "with much pressure and hardship in regard to their long-continued affliction with the plague," were only able to collect £60.

Eight months later, Henry Mellor, who, in the interval, became the first Mayor of Derby, wrote to the Secretary of State that he had paid-in another thirty pounds, "a great part out of my own purse." He evidently disliked his task of distraining on the defaulters, and, ingeniously suggesting that the writ which he had received as bailiff was void now that he had assumed the office of mayor, asked that a sergeant-at-arms might be sent down to attach the refractory. What steps were taken by the Crown does not appear; but that Derby persisted in its refusal to pay the tax is plain from a letter of Sheriff Agarde, in June, 1640, in which he complains that he cannot collect the ship-money, and that "the mayor

gives him no answer, except that they will not be answerable to the Sheriff." From the endorsement it would appear that the Mayor received a sharp letter, ordering him, under penalty, to pay in the amount by a fixed date; but five months later, the Long Parliament assembled, and ship-money soon gave place to more serious questions. Events moved rapidly towards a crisis, and the two great parties of the State soon appealed to the sword.

On August 22nd, 1642, the King raised his standard at Nottingham, where he stayed for three weeks collecting an army. On September 13th, he marched to Derby, being met on the way by the trained bands (militia), from whom he selected five hundred men. These soldiers, however, were not altogether well-disposed to the King's cause, for at Nottingham it was found advisable to disarm the trained bands, handing their muskets and pikes to the Royalist recruits; and the account of one Creswell shows that at Derby there was no spontaneous movement to join the royal service. The King's press, he says, took all the men who could be spared. He himself, servant to a gentleman in St. Alkmund's parish, escaped by scaling the garden wall when the guard came, and made his way to Darley, crossing the river by means of the weir, and proceeding to Nottingham, where he joined a troop of horse under the Roundheads.

After staying three days at Derby, where the Corporation, it is said, lent the King a number of small-arms and three hundred pounds, he marched with his forces to Uttoxeter, on his way to the Welsh border; and Derby, like the neighbour town of

Nottingham, eventually became a centre for the Parliamentary forces. On the other hand, the Vicar of All Saints' entered in the Church Register the text which decrees that "every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation"; the Earl of Devonshire, the chief magnate in the county, withdrew to the Continent, leaving his Countess to secretly support the Royalists; and many of the nobility and gentry took sides according to their political or social inclination.

The cause of the Puritan party found a strange champion in Sir John Gell, who had made himself notorious over the collection of the ship-money, and who, six weeks after the King's departure westward, marched into Derby with his followers from Wirksworth,* and held the Town Hall as his headquarters for nearly four years. What were the considerations that prevailed with a man of such erratic principles to induce him to accept the leadership, is not plain; certain it is that he was regarded askance by the leading Puritans of the neighbourhood, and it is hard to believe, considering his action when Sheriff, that he commanded either the confidence or the respect of the Derby townspeople. He was regarded rather as a man lacking principle and having no real heart in the cause; whilst his soldiers are described as "stout fighting men, but the most licentious, ungovernable wretches that belonged to the Parliament."†

* Defoe, who passed through the district around Wirksworth some eighty years later, mentions the daring character of the miners there, and states that they were often employed in the army in the risky work of sapping and mining.

† See Mrs. Lucy Hutchinson's description of Gell's following (*Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson*, 4to, 1806, p. 156), as "nimble

Some allowance must be made for the strong Puritan bent of this writer, and for the fact that she was contrasting them with the soldiers of Nottingham, whose strictness of speech and conduct resembled that of the Ironsides.⁷ Gell's soldiers were similar in character to the levies raised generally at the beginning of the war—"a set of poor tapsters and town apprentices," as Cromwell styled them, and from the State correspondence respecting the troops raised in 1640, two years before the outbreak of the Civil War, their general character may be judged. Writing about July in that year, Sir John Coke complains that the troops marching north against the Scots broke into the county gaol at Derby, and questioned the prisoners as to their offences. Finding among them a debtor and a deserter, they took these men with them, saying "they would have no soldier in prison for that."

The Earl of Devonshire, Lord Lieutenant of the county, writing on the same subject to the Council, after mentioning the levy raised by him of four hundred soldiers, with twenty carters and sixty horses to carry stores, says he has billeted them at Derby as being the only place in the county where the law was strong enough to assert itself, "no other place being able to rule or secure itself against a dozen of them." These troops had lain idle at Derby so long that the town and neighbouring gentry were grumbling at the expense, which exceeded that of

youths at plunder," and her sarcastic remarks are amply justified by contemporary writers. In a tract entitled *A Case for the City Spectacles* (4to, 1648), it is related that "one Hope," one of Gell's officers, "plundered most sacrilegiously a Communion cup and [which?] was pulled out of his Breeches." The same writer accuses Gell's men of stripping the slain at Hopton Heath.

other counties by three thousand pounds. Moreover, he is of opinion that the moral tone of the troops was lowered by contamination with the various levies passing through the town during the delay. Such being the description of the local troops of the period, it is no surprise to find that the farmers in the west of the county were afraid to bring their produce to Derby market lest they should be robbed on the way by the soldiery.

The account given of the sacking of Bretby House, near Repton, lends colour to Mrs. Hutchinson's description, and renders it doubtful whether these local troops fought so much for the good of the cause as for plunder and personal malice. The master of the house having retired before them with his men, the besiegers tried to bargain with the Countess, who was left in possession. They would forbear to pillage the place, they said, if she would pay each soldier half-a-crown. On her refusal, they lowered their terms to a lump sum of forty marks; but as she eventually refused to treat with them on any terms, the house was plundered, although the officers saved her own room with its effects.

The Earl of Chesterfield, whose property was so unceremoniously appropriated, retired with his followers to Lichfield, where the cathedral and close, surrounded by a wall dating from medieval times, was easily converted into a fortress for the Royalist party, who placed the Earl in command. Here they were soon besieged by the Puritans under Lord Brooke, who, whilst directing a cannonade, was killed by a musket shot from the battlements.* Upon this,

* The spot where he fell is still pointed out to visitors. It was reported, and currently believed, that he had that morning prayed openly, "That, if the cause he was in were not right and just, he might presently be cut off."

Sir John Gell marched from Derby with what forces could be spared, and resumed the siege with such vigour that part of the central tower fell through the roof into the church, and the besieged soon begged for terms. The victors established themselves in the cathedral, using it as a barracks, and, according to the accounts of Cavalier writers, destroying the monuments, the windows, and the valuable documents ; although it should be mentioned that the Royalists had themselves invited this destruction by using it as a place of defence.

During the period of the Civil War, Gell continued his policy of harrying bodies of Royalists as far off as Newark, Leicester, Chester and the borders of Yorkshire, his object being to prevent any serious concentration of the enemy in his district. In general, these expeditions were successfully accomplished ; occasionally his troops met with reverses, causing them to retire on Derby as the base of operations. Their reports complain that the Royalists robbed and plundered the country people, and on one occasion, when the Derby men fell back before the superior forces of the Earl of Newcastle, the enemy "pillaged to the very gates of the town" ; but in the attack on Bretby House, already noticed, their own report proves that all the pillaging did not belong to one party, and a letter written by a prisoner, taken in one of their assaults on Burton, clearly shows that the question of booty and ransom was always prominent. The writer states that he was taken from his house to Derby, where he was kept prisoner for ten or twelve weeks, his cattle having been driven off to Derby for sale.

Eventually it was suggested that he should lend to Major Molineux, one of Gell's officers, the sum of a hundred pounds, evidently as ransom ; and after some bargaining, in which Gell himself took part, he was released for sixty pounds.

Amongst a number of raids and marches around Derby, the chief event deserving of record was the battle of Hopton Heath, near Stafford, in March, 1643, memorable on account of the death of the Earl of Northampton, whose body was brought to Derby and deposited in the Cavendish vault in All Saints' Church. Charging too far into the ranks of the enemy, his horse was killed under him and his helmet struck off. The Roundheads, who surrounded him, offered him quarter, but with the contempt of a true Cavalier he shouted, "I scorn to take quarter from such base rogues as you are!" whereupon a soldier rushed at him with his halberd and slew him. At Uttoxeter a trumpeter waited upon Gell with a request from the dead man's son that the body should be delivered to them ; but Gell made a counterclaim for surgeons' charges for embalming the body, adding thereto an insulting demand for ordnance captured in the battle, with which the young Earl not being able to comply, the matter fell through.

In this engagement the Royalists at first succeeded in driving Gell from his position, although the Roundheads eventually recovered their ground and won the day. This was effected by a junction of Gell's forces with the troops from Cheshire under Sir William Brereton, and under these circumstances both sections of the victors claimed the honour of having decided the issue. Gell says the victory was achieved

by his "getting his musketeers in order and giving the enemy such a vollie of shott upon their chardge" as made them retire; although another account states that Brereton came up at the critical moment with fresh troops, which enabled the Derby men to regain their ground.

During the four years that Gell kept his headquarters at Derby, the leaders of the Puritan army gradually changed its character, and the New Model under Cromwell eventually carried all before it. The system of local attack and reprisal, which obtained in Derbyshire and elsewhere, was not destined to effect any serious or lasting result; but a drilled army, concentrated on a set purpose, soon succeeded in bringing the war to a successful issue. Shortly after the surrender of the King to the Scots at Newark, in May, 1646, the Derby men were disbanded, and the local unrest was at an end. According to the report, each dragoon received £4 6s., and each foot soldier £1 6s.; but the officers complained that they could obtain nothing from the Parliament, not even repayment of the sums they disbursed during the war; for money was scarce, the pay of the army generally was greatly in arrear, and Parliament was too deeply occupied in considering measures for its own safety to concern itself with the minor question of finance.

During the subsequent period of the Commonwealth the pulpits were filled with Puritan ministers and others, who upheld the religious changes of worship favoured by the Government. Whether any considerable enthusiasm was shewn for the Puritan system in Derby is not apparent; but an

earlier report exists, of March, 1639, evidencing that some little resistance was offered to the Romish tendencies of the Government of Charles I. It is therein stated that the Vicar, the Rev. Dr. Wilmot, had on a certain Sunday omitted parts of the service, such as the *Gloria* after the Psalms, and had also thought fit to omit the sermon, preferring to use some catechism of his own in place thereof. Nearly three thousand persons were present, which shows that something extraordinary was expected; but whether the crowd was drawn by curiosity or by conviction does not appear.

In 1643, in the heat of the Civil War, Joseph Swetnam was appointed to All Saints', which post he filled with moderation and ability until 1662, when, foreseeing the trend of events under the rule of Charles II., he quietly retired. That he was a man of some standing, appears from a news-letter forwarded to Lord Clarendon in exile, dated May, 1653, in which it is stated that Cromwell was arranging for the return of Prince Charles, and that among the Presbyterians who boldly advocated this course was Swetnam, of Derby, although this statement is not borne out by subsequent events.

An item of personal interest which appears during this period is the imprisonment in Derby of George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, or "Quakers," a nickname first applied to them by the Derby magistrate, Gervase Bennett, when Fox bade him "tremble at the word of the Lord." Fox, narrating in his diary his eccentricities in Derby, incidentally throws some light on the religious life of the town. Hearing the church bells ringing, he

made inquiry, and was told there was to be a great lecture that day, and that many officers in the army were to be present to hear Colonel Barton preach, a man of some note, who three years later sat in Barebones' Parliament. Fox thereupon walked up to the "steeple-house," as he styles it, and, entering the church, interrupted the preacher's discourse by his usual wild denunciations. For this he was committed to the town prison (October 30th, 1650), although under the Commonwealth such "blasphemy" was considered by many of the Council deserving of death. The leniency of the town magistrates did not end here, for they permitted him to go at large to the extent of a mile from the prison, hoping, as the gaoler privately told him, that he would take the opportunity of leaving the town and would trouble them no more. Fox, however, remained true to his parole, preaching in the streets and in the Market Place, after his eccentric fashion, and always returning to the noisome prison at night, until after more than a twelvemonth he was formally released, and left the town.

A general rising in the north of England, planned by one John Booth, a member of an influential Presbyterian family in Cheshire, was arranged for August 5th, 1659. The Government troops prevented an outbreak, but some of the plotters, including one Colonel White, eluded their pursuers at Nottingham and came to Derby on market day (August 26th), where they read Booth's declaration demanding a free Parliament. Some of the more enthusiastic townspeople responded, closing their shops and seizing the horses of the militia, many

of whom espoused the cause of the rebels. The colonel of the troops discreetly drew them out of the town on to Nun's Green, where he refused to take any further part, and retired, when dissension did its work. The soldiers dispersed to their quarters, and the townspeople, finding they had acted too precipitately, made haste to admit their error. A troop of horse was hastily despatched from Stafford, but hearing at Uttoxeter that the matter had ended, they withdrew.

This decisive action on the part of the colonel of the militia succeeded in suppressing an attempted rebellion which had been fermenting for some time. Four years previous, the gentry of the Midlands were plotting against the Government and arranging their rendezvous in Derbyshire; and the Presbyterians, who were anxious for the downfall of the army and of the Independents, joined their forces with the Church party for this object. The preachers in Derby urged on their congregations from the pulpit to rise in favour of the restoration of Charles, who, as they vainly believed, would establish Presbyterianism as the religion of the State; but Swetnam, better able to read the signs of the times, continued to uphold the Commonwealth, "and said they were fools."

As it happened, Booth's rising failed more through lack of organisation than from want of followers. The Government took speedy measures to prevent any further outbreak; troops were brought into the town, and many of the gentry and others of the neighbourhood were arrested. The register of St. Peter's Church records the burial of many

prisoners about this time, who died in the county gaol that stood over the brook.

Politics moved rapidly at this period, and with the fall of the Commonwealth and the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660, the Presbyterians, for a short time, came into favour, although they soon found themselves deserted by their old allies, the Church party, and even driven from their benefices. The consequence was a series of attempted plots against the Government which they had helped to establish. In November, 1661, signs of approaching disturbance appeared in Derby, and the militia were called out; but Sir Francis Burdett, finding after three days' training that all was quiet, disbanded them. From the statements made by persons arrested during the next three years for alleged complicity in these plots, a great deal of unrest is apparent. In June, 1664, one Thomas Calton was arrested in the town for spreading sedition and enlisting four men, but the constable permitted him to escape, and he was not re-captured for some weeks. He then divulged the names of a number of Presbyterians in the neighbourhood who, he affirmed, were members of a widespread conspiracy, one in particular being Captain Wright, who was only awaiting the signal to rise in arms. This person, on being arrested, asserted his innocence, and was bailed in two thousand pounds whilst further enquiries were made. Calton further stated what was the popular impression of the time, that the King favoured the Papists, who were expected to rise and murder their Protestant neighbours.

For ten years, successive Acts forbidding the

meeting of Nonconformists for public worship were rigidly enforced, until the year 1672, when a royal indulgence towards the Roman Catholics and Dissenters was granted. Two Presbyterian preachers, John Oatfield and Luke Cranwell, then obtained licences to officiate at the houses of Thomas Sleigh and Samuel Warde, in Derby; but after a year's trial the Dissenters, regarding this concession to the Roman Catholics as a dangerous precedent, decided to abandon their share of the privilege, and on petition it was withdrawn.

The fear of a Roman Catholic rising gained strength with time; and when in the autumn of 1678 the infamous Titus Oates came forward with stories which drove London mad with terror, the country gentry spread the panic by "taking for Gospel everything he affirmed." Derby suffered in the general contagion, for on the night of Sunday, December 1st, the rumour was spread broadcast that a letter had been found at Thurlston, in which it was hinted that five hundred Papists would assemble on Nun's Green on the following night; yet, according to a religious census taken two years before (1676), the Romanists in Derby numbered only four persons, against 101 Protestant Dissenters and 2,014 Churchmen. The sequel showed the rumour to have been an idle tale, but the townspeople passed twenty-four hours of miserable suspense, in which, doubtless, the Roman Catholics shared.

Seven years later, James II. ascended the throne, and at once started on that mad career which drove him into exile. His sole aim being to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion in the land, one of his

first acts was to admit members of that sect to offices of State. It was in resisting this early inroad upon the power of Parliament that Derby was indirectly made famous by the action of its member, John Coke. The House of Commons went in procession to Whitehall with an address which mildly protested against the suggestions made by the King in his speech, but he regarded this display as dictatorial, and was displeased. The members returned to the House, and were considering their position, when the member for Derby precipitated matters by rising from his seat and saying, "I hope that we are all Englishmen, and that we shall not be frightened from our duty by a few high words." The effect of this observation shows the awe and fear in which the Crown was held in those days. The House broke into a turmoil. The Court party, seizing their opportunity, shouted, "Take down his words! To the Tower!" and in the uproar, his own party, who suggested that Coke should be reprimanded, could not obtain a hearing. Nothing short of imprisonment could efface this insult to the Crown, and to the Tower Coke was sent. In the House of Peers, where the same question came under discussion, the leader of the Opposition, or country party, was the Earl of Devonshire, a coincidence which suggests that Coke knew the opinion of the chief magnate in his county, and felt emboldened in consequence. This stubborn action of the Commons had no effect on the determined policy of the King, who, during the three years of his reign, broke both law and precedent in order to attain his object.

The Corporation of Derby, like other boroughs,

was re-modelled, so as to ensure the return of a Court nominee, who would vote according to order; although it may have been whispered in Derby that the Earl of Devonshire was cautiously working for their deliverance, and that a change was impending. It soon came. On the landing of the Prince of Orange in November, 1688, the Earl, with a large body of friends and dependents, rode into Derby and called on the local gentry to join him. The details of the rising of 1659 and its miserable sequel, however, were still remembered. Moreover, the Earl of Devonshire, if matters should go wrong, might fly over sea; but in the recollection of the Derby tradesman there was such a person as Judge Jeffreys, who had recently conducted "The Bloody Assize." They, therefore, held cautiously aloof, and the Earl proceeded to Nottingham, which became his headquarters.

Under the tolerant rule of William III. the Protestant Dissenters were permitted to build meeting-houses without any serious restrictions, and the old Friar Gate Chapel, built in 1698, still retains the coat-of-arms of the King who re-established the Protestant religion and abolished the old persecutions. About 1694, the Independents and Presbyterians throughout the country combined to build their chapels, known as Presbyterian Meeting-houses; and, in 1713, the Friar Gate assembly is described as "the Congregation of Protestant Dissenters in Derby." The first minister was Ferdinando Shaw, M.A., a scholar and writer, who gave his sect a position, of which the Church party of the ultra-Tory school soon became envious.

This strong feeling against the Dissenters was emphasised in the sermon preached in 'All Saints' Church by Dr. Henry Sacheverell on August 15th, 1709. That he should have preached in Derby at all appears to have been a matter more of accident than of design. His relation, or supposed relation, George Sacheverell, was Sheriff of Derbyshire, and the Doctor, his chaplain, described as being "an inordinately vain man," seized the opportunity to preach the Assize sermon on a subject about which the nation was strongly divided; although his discourse, judged from the modern standpoint, was more calculated to send his audience to sleep than to inspire religious bigotry or animus. The gist of the sermon was in the conclusion, the many heads and sub-heads being as innocent of offence as they were dreary and commonplace.

The text was Timothy's advice, "Neither be partakers of other men's sins"; and the preacher, after elaborating on the varied methods by which men might commit this error, came to his sixth, which denounced the "authorising or publishing any heresy, false doctrine, schism, faction, irreligion, or immorality." From this standpoint it was but a small step to proceed to denounce the Quakers and other sectaries as people of wicked and infamous character, and to lay down the proposition that "a show of more zeal and purity is the most infallible token of a dexterous and refined hypocrite and knave." In spite of these bold assertions, it is scarcely probable that the bare delivery of the sermon would have aroused much controversy had it not been published, ostensibly at the request of

the Grand Jury. It was furnished with a preface by Dr. Sacheverell, which is simply a eulogy upon the High Sheriff.

For this sermon, and for another which he preached in St. Paul's Cathedral, he was tried before the Lords in Westminster Hall, and suspended for three years; but this lenient punishment was regarded by his friends as a virtual victory, and Derby, with other towns, showed its satisfaction by the usual bell-ringing and bonfires.

The accession of George I. brought the Whigs again into power, and religious toleration, which had waned under the Tory rule of Anne, again asserted itself. The Church, however, threw the whole of its strength against the Government, some of the clergy even going so far as to espouse the Jacobite cause. In Derby, the methods of some fifty years previous now returned, the ministers exciting their congregations from the pulpits by their political harangues, whilst the Dissenters went in bodily fear, and kept a nightly watch over their Meeting House. Hutton tells us that the Vicar of All Saints' ventured to slip King James into the Litany in place of King George, but was quickly brought to book by the military gentlemen present; whilst Mr. Cantrell, of St. Alkmund's, drank the health of the Pretender on his knees.*

It was during this period in the history of politics in the Church that the ancient Gothic body of All Saints' was demolished (1722), to give place to the

* The truth of this story has been held questionable, but from the private diary of Mr. Cantrell, seen by the writer of this note (although now unhappily destroyed by his last descendant, together with many other important documents), it is certain that his sympathies were strongly in favour of the Stuarts.

present classical structure. The minister, Dr. Michael Hutchinson, has been humorously depicted as the prince of beggars, who succeeded in collecting from far and near, and all and sundry, the sum of about four thousand pounds; but his efforts at church building were less successful, for the rebuilt edifice, although regarded at the time as very beautiful, remains as a gloomy example of the Roman Doric style affected by Gibbs, its architect.

In the year 1719, the literary history of the town commenced with the establishment of *The Derby Postman*, which appears to have lapsed in 1731, its place being taken in the following year by a living weekly newspaper, *The Derby Mercury*. From this date, the fragmentary and often obscure records of the past centuries give place to an unbroken chronicle of town events—the story of its modern expansion and development.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NEWSPAPER PERIOD



PART I.—1732-1776

N Thursday, March 23rd, 1732, Mr. Samuel Drewry made his bow to the Gentlemen, tradesmen, and others of the Borough of Derby, to whom the first copy of his *Derby Mercury* is "humbly inscrib'd" and presented gratis. His intention, he states, is to furnish a newspaper of more local interest than is generally the case; that instead of filling his columns with useless tables of imports and exports, or with the London bills of mortality, he shall endeavour to interest his readers with monthly lists of the local christenings and buryings; with reports of any domestic occurrences with which he may be furnished, and with accounts of remarkable trials at the Old Bailey in London. With this primitive estimate of the capabilities of a local newspaper, and of the taste of his readers, *The Derby Mercury*, of four pages foolscap folio, less than one-fourth the modern newspaper size, began its career, price twopence, to be published every Thursday evening at Sam. Drewry's, in the Market

Place, and to be "immediately sent to the Houses of Subscribers."

This preliminary issue contains one item of local interest—an advertisement in which James Holmes proposes a "more speedy dispatch of letters between Derby and Nottingham," and announces that he sets out from the "Three Swans" in Derby every Sunday and Thursday "about nine of the clock in the morning," returning from the Post House at Nottingham about four in the afternoon, and that letters and parcels will be taken in at his residence any day.

On Thursday, March 30th, appeared No. 1 of the *Mercury*, in which the news, domestic and foreign, is copied mainly from the London papers, the solitary local paragraph being an account of the execution which took place on the previous day, and which evidently afforded the town much interest. John Hewitt had poisoned his wife, with the assistance of Rosamund Ollerenshaw, and the pair, walking to the gallows between two clergymen, and surrounded by a great crowd, were hanged in their shrouds, a feature which, according to the *Mercury*, added to the impressiveness of the spectacle. Hutton, then nine years old, in crossing the stepping-stones over the brook at Nun's Green, was almost pushed into the stream by the crowd hurrying to the spot. It is recorded that on the previous Monday the Rev. Mr. Locket, of St. Michael's, preached the condemned sermon from the text, "Be ye also ready," and that Mr. Cantrell, of St. Alkmund's, followed on the Tuesday with his sermon, "Repent and be converted"; although the audience which attended was doubtless drawn together more out of morbid curiosity to gaze

on the wretches in the condemned pew than to listen to the preacher. Tastes have changed since those days; and when, in 1862, a minister of the town who had attended a murderer in the condemned cell, announced that he would narrate the details of the scene to his congregation, the local papers were not slow to mark their disapproval.

On April 27th, the *Mercury* appeared with a wood-cut heading giving a prospect of Derby from the eastward. In the foreground is the Derwent, the old bridge on the right, a sailing vessel on the left at the wharf near the Morledge, for the Derwent was made navigable thirteen years before. Beyond the river and the gardens rises the town, with its line of churches, the view finishing on the left in a precipitous peak representing Cockpit Hill. The new Town Hall (1730), undistinguishable among the cluster of buildings, is shown in a separate cut.

On June 22nd, the first quarter's issue came to an end, when Mr. Drewry informed his subscribers that his bills, which had been delayed through his serious illness, would be sent out during the following week.

In July, the public were informed that water from the Spa at Matlock is brought to Derby twice a week, and supplied to customers at twopence a quart.* Great virtues were attributed to these waters, although probably the growing use of soap was a greater health-factor. In January, 1733, Messrs. Roberts and Hawksley, soap-boilers, advertise that

* Within living memory Kedleston water was brought into Derby by one Hough, his donkey carrying two cans suspended from a yoke. There is a letterpaper heading of about 1840—a view of Derby Market Place—in which old Hough is shown with his donkey passing the Town Hall.

many people declare their Castle soap (Castile, or Spanish soap) is equal or superior to that "imported from Bristol," the sale having become so great that all their coppers are in use. Another advertisement states that George Paschall, the old Derby carrier to London, sends a wagon every Monday which reaches the metropolis on Saturday, leaving the "Bull and Mouth" for the return journey on Mondays. Goods at this period were conveyed by the "roller wagons," with wheels fifteen inches broad, and drawn by as many as fourteen horses at the rate of two miles an hour.

In 1742, this vehicle was replaced by one of the so-called "flying wagons," which made the journey to London in three and a half days, carrying both goods and passengers. In October, it was further announced that this wagon would continue on the road throughout the winter, making the journey in the same time; and that Derby gentlemen could be supplied with oysters from the metropolis during the season, the occasions for feast and revel in the county-town being numerous, at which times such imported luxuries were in demand.

In July, 1733, the Assizes were made the occasion for display, when the Duke of Devonshire and Lord James Cavendish came to meet the judge, and many of the county gentry journeyed to town in consequence. In the evening, there was a grand Assembly, after which the Duke and his friends honoured Mr. Franceys, the apothecary in the Corn Market—a great favourite with the neighbouring gentry—and were entertained at his house until four in the morning.

A fortnight earlier, the commoners made merry

when one of the members, the Hon. Charles Stanhope, visited the town. The church bells were rung in his honour, and in the evening an abundance of ale was set out in the Market Place for all comers to enjoy. Doubtless all this kept the voters in good humour for the coming General Election, which took place in May, 1734, when Lord James Cavendish and the Hon. Charles Stanhope were easily returned at the head of the poll.

The election, however, did not pass over without some rioting, for which several persons were committed to prison, although this disturbance was mild when compared with the uproar three weeks later. The result of the county election was declared at the County Hall in St. Mary's Gate, and as the crowd refused to allow Lord James Cavendish, the successful candidate, to be chaired, a fight ensued—windows were smashed, several persons were wounded, and one man was killed by a thrust through his head with a pointed stick.

The savage nature of the mob on such occasions is always apparent, and affords some justification for the heavy punishments which the law inflicted on offenders, although even the sight of the Judge of Assize and his officers did not always deter evildoers. At the Assizes in April, 1736, a man named Simpson was found innocent of a charge brought against him by one Horton, whereupon the crowd, incensed against the prosecutor, fell upon him outside the County Hall, pelting him with mud along the streets as he endeavoured to escape them, and eventually hustling him down, when he would have received little mercy but for the timely intervention

of the constable. A few days later, feeling that his safety was not assured, he removed from the town.

At the Assizes held in August, 1740, a case was tried which shows the severity of the law when it was necessary to teach the commoners respect for the rights of property. On July 10th, several Derby millers, ignoring the warning the Mayor had given to them regarding the law of forestalling, determined to remove some flour to Leek, which, presumably, had been sold by private treaty instead of in open market as the law required. Accordingly, when the two wagons containing twenty-four sacks of fine flour were seen leaving the town by the Ashbourne road, a hue-and-cry was raised, and the populace, feeling that the law was for once on their side, pursued the vehicles, stopping and surrounding them about two miles out of the town. Here the crowd, every moment reinforced from Derby and the neighbouring villages, took possession of what they considered to be contraband property, and endeavoured to distribute it among themselves, the women filling their aprons, but wasting the greater portion in the struggling mob. During the confusion, Mr. Gisborne, J.P., came upon the scene, and wisely suggested that the wagons should be brought back to the Market Place, to which the people assented, the horses being led by two women, whilst the crowd surged around shouting and struggling.

Arrived at the Market Place, the Mayor made an effort to quiet the disturbance, but all to no purpose, for the populace broke in again, overpowering the constables and town officers, and only after the Riot Act had been read was order restored; for at that

period troops were regularly quartered in the town, and to defy the Riot Act meant bloodshed. Having thus awed the mob, the Mayor bound over the millers who had transgressed the law to appear at the Sessions, and certain persons among the rioters were arrested and committed to prison for trial at the Assizes. Nothing further is heard of the millers, but this leniency could not be extended to the mob, and at the Assizes two of the women rioters were sentenced to seven years' transportation. A few days later they left the gaol with four other convicts, all mounted on horseback, on their journey to Liverpool to be shipped to the West Indies.

Under the severe criminal code of the Georgian era, an Assize seldom passed without leaving one or more victims for the gallows, any exception being marked by the *Mercury* as a *maiden Assize*. At such times, the scanty details of the local courts were supplemented by more dramatic reports of recent trials at the Old Bailey, the detail of question and answer showing the interest taken in these crimes by Mr. Drewry's subscribers.

It would, nevertheless, be a mistake to suppose that life in Derby at this period was disturbed by an endless succession of broils and street riots. The newspaper of every age lays stress upon the unusual and the exceptional, but the daily round of town life is not made prominent, because it is commonplace and without public interest. That manners in Derby, as well as elsewhere in 1740, were coarser and rougher than in our day is only too plain; also, that the savage element in the community was more conspicuous. Yet even at that period the peaceable

and law-abiding formed the majority of the townspeople, who stayed at home in time of riot and disorder, and among these were many who deprecated the lawlessness and brutal character of their less refined neighbours.

Occasionally we have a glimpse of this better side of social life in the town. There are references to Dr. Sylvester's school in Friar Gate; a new book on arithmetic is advertised, which can be obtained through Mr. Drewry, and which may account for the problems in mensuration occasionally asked and answered in the columns of the *Mercury*. In May, 1740, it was announced that the Rev. Mr. Christie would preach a sermon on the education of children, after which he would publicly examine those present; and in January, 1741, he arranged to open a school in the town.

The entertainments of the gentry were chiefly confined to the Assemblies, to an occasional concert, or to the visits of a company of strolling players. In December, 1733, Herbert's Company of Comedians entertained the gentry at Mr. Tyrrel's Dancing room, when the tragedy of "Tamerlane the Great" was produced. Their stay lasted several weeks, other plays being produced by desire.

The Assemblies were stately and exclusive gatherings, to which no Derby tradesmen were admitted, excepting Mr. Franceys and his family. These "routs and bustles," a general feature of the period, are mentioned by the writers of that time as match-making centres for the benefit of the county gentry; and judging from occasional remarks in the letters of Lady Coke, of Longford, the gaiety of the Derby

Assemblies was not unmixed with jealousies and heartburnings. "Surely the men are rather impolite, or the ladies would not be obliged to dance together," she writes in December, 1748, showing that the gentlemen disappeared into the card-room, as they do to-day. There were in Derby at this time two Assemblies supported by different sets, and Lady Coke remarks that "it is a pity people can't agree to make one good one." Again, in 1752, she is of opinion that Lady Ferrers, who had taken over the management, has "undertaken a difficult task if she means to compose all differences about the Assembly."

For the townsfolk there were many open-air performances of a varied character. In 1732, Cadman, or "Gillenoe, the Frenchman," came to Derby, fixing his rope from the top of All Saints' tower to the bottom of St. Michael's Church, and sliding or flying down at a speed which caused the slight apparatus which supported him to emit a cloud of smoke. The next day (Friday) he repeated this performance, along with other dexterous tricks, to the astonishment of the crowd of market people and others. He met with his death whilst performing at Shrewsbury seven years later. According to Hutton, these exploits caused a rage for flying which affected the whole town, and which was not checked until 1734, when another stranger appeared, who outstripped Gillenoe by stretching his rope from the top of All Saints' tower to the bottom of St. Mary's Gate, his performance to close with the descent of a donkey which had been hoisted to the top of the tower. The creature was carried along the rope

with great velocity, but near the County Hall the apparatus broke, and the donkey, falling on the crowd beneath, did considerable damage, although no one was killed.

In 1737, Thomas Topham, the strong man, came to town, making his headquarters at the Virgin's Inn, where he punished an impudent ostler by bending a kitchen spit around his neck, cravat fashion. Hutton heard him sing a solo, "Mad Tom," to the accompaniment of the organ in St. Werburgh's Church, and thought his voice "more terrible than sweet."

Besides these travelling entertainers, there were the festivities and illuminations on national occasions. On October 30th, 1740, being the King's birthday, the bells were rung all morning, and in the evening the usual bonfire lit up the Market Place, around which the populace enjoyed strong beer at the expense of the Mayor, who, with other loyal gentlemen, drank the King's health in wine. A week later, a second display occurred in honour of Admiral Vernon, who had recently pleased the nation by defeating the Spaniards in the West Indies, and by bringing home ten thousand dollars of booty. On this occasion the usual illuminations were enhanced by some fireworks, the chief item being a representation of a ship, which gave great satisfaction.

A month later, the townspeople underwent an experience which obliterated the memory of these rejoicings. A storm of snow and rain, which lasted several days, ended in a sudden thaw, and, consequently, the brook rose, and the old malady of the flood occurred once more. According to the *Mercury*,

1740 it was "the greatest flood ever known"; but as measurements were seldom given, it was usual to make this assertion on the occasion of every exceptional overflow. The loss and damage, however, were very serious; the flood poured in a strong torrent through the town, carrying away bridges, piles of timber, and cattle, and terrifying the people, who were driven to the upper rooms of their houses, which threatened to be swept away by the current. The gentry, as usual, came to the assistance of their poorer neighbours, and in the wealthy parish of All Saints a house-to-house collection was organised, which the *Mercury* hoped would be copied throughout the town.

Charity to the poor was one of the virtues of the age, and was very generally practised. The *Mercury*, in its obituary on the Rev. Ferdinando Shaw, M.A., who died in January, 1744, stated that he had been "generous to the poor of any sect or party." His wife, who died four years previous, and who was a descendant of Sir John Gell, of Civil War memory, ably assisted him in his ministry, the pair forming in Derby a centre of culture and morals. Six Dissenting ministers bore the pall at his funeral, and after the service in the chapel, his corpse, followed by the congregation, was carried to St. Werburgh's for burial.

These minor scenes and incidents, which helped to form the varied life of Derby, were destined to be overshadowed by the events which marked the year 1745 as exceptional in the annals of the town. Nevertheless, the history of the first six months is commonplace. In March, a cutler in Sadler Gate was killed in his shop, through the breaking of a

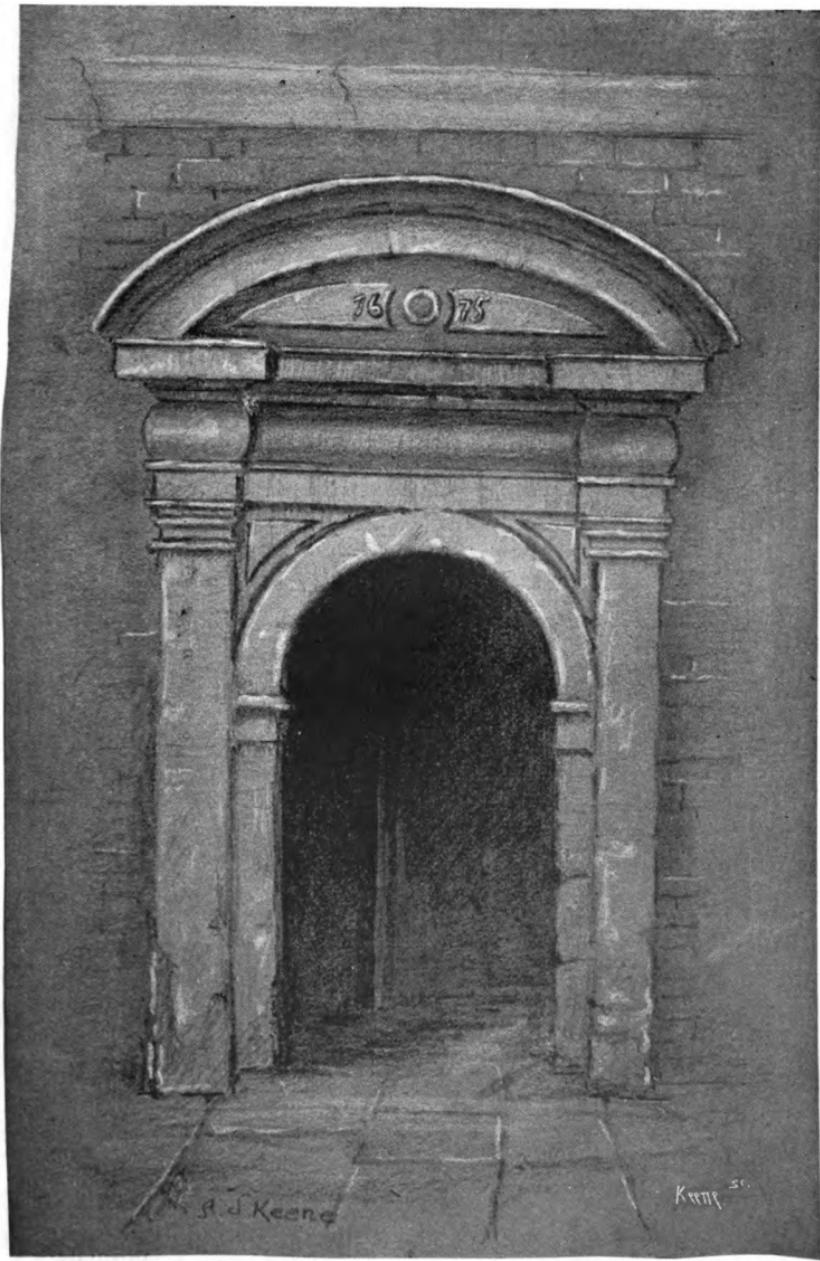
grindstone, which flew to pieces and smashed his skull. In June, two highwaymen were brought into the town under a strong guard, and lodged in the County Gaol, being afterwards tried and hanged at Nottingham. In July, Mr. Isaac Borrow died at an advanced age at his house in Castle Fields, "near this town," Burrough's Walk (as it is now, incorrectly, designated) being then in the country.

All this time, a cloud was rising in a clear sky. In the *Mercury* for August 16th there appeared a despatch from Edinboro' stating that the city was in a turmoil, and filled with rumours of invasion, the general story being that "two thousand men had landed in Lochaber or the Western Isles." Derby readers may have taken little notice of this item of news, but by September 6th the *Mercury* was full of reports, despatches and letters referring to the Highland rising, and the public was evidently becoming interested. The authorities, also, had reason to fear that the local Jacobites might rise, and measures were taken to counteract such a movement. A proclamation warned poachers and all unauthorised persons, that if caught with firearms they would be summarily dealt with; and a travelling linen merchant, dropping some remarks at the George Inn showing his Jacobite leanings, was forthwith clapped into gaol.

On September 20th, the Duke of Devonshire issued a proclamation calling a meeting at the George Inn, to take protective measures; and on October 3rd the rival parties held meetings at the "George" and at the "King's Head," when the Duke smoothed away all differences by attending both, and it was

1745
agreed to raise six hundred men in defence; for the news of the Highland victory at Preston Pans had recently arrived, and people were becoming alarmed. As the *Mercury* week by week reported the march of the rebels southward (Carlisle, November 8th), it appeared possible that Derby might fall into their marauding hands, and the gentry and trades-people began to send their property and valuables out of town. On November 22nd, the King's troops passed through from Nottingham to the westward, and on the 27th, a despatch-rider brought news that the rebels had reached Preston on the previous day. A town's meeting was thereupon held on the 28th, when it was decided to engage these messengers to bring the latest reports from the Duke of Devonshire's headquarters. Meanwhile, the volunteers were busy drilling, although the news that the Duke of Cumberland, with the royal forces, had reached Lichfield gave general satisfaction.

The crisis arrived on Tuesday, December 3rd. On that morning, the troops were drilling as usual, everyone being in good spirits, for, from the latest reports, the rebels were marching into the jaws of the Duke of Cumberland's army, and a battle near Lichfield was supposed to be imminent; but, shortly after the troops were dismissed, news arrived which threw the whole town into commotion. The rebels were at Ashbourne, and would reach Derby on the morrow! "Distraction was seen in every countenance," says the *Mercury*. People of means hurriedly arranged to remove their families, and most of the Corporation officers decided to leave the town. About four o'clock, the volunteers (known as "The



DOORWAY IN SADLER GATE.

Derby Blues") mustered in the Market Place, with the intention of marching against the foe; but some hesitation manifested itself, and after several hours' deliberation, the regiment, about ten o'clock, turned its back upon Ashbourne, and marched out of the town by torchlight for Nottingham, leaving the inhabitants to treat with the enemy as best they might.

The approach of the rebel army was heralded next morning about eleven o'clock by two mounted officers, who, entering the town by Friar Gate, rode to the Town Hall, whence, finding no one in authority, they returned to the George Inn, at the top of Sadler Gate, and demanded billets for nine thousand men. Shortly afterwards about fifty well-mounted horsemen arrived, and took up position in the Market Place, where the people made a bonfire, whilst the bells of the churches rang a peal to simulate a welcome. The mounted troops and officers continued to march in until about three in the afternoon, Lord George Murray, the leader of the expedition, arriving about noon, his quarters being at Mr. Heathcote's, a house "in the great yard at the lower end of the Market Place." Then came the clans, marching in detached companies, each a curious medley, composed of the chief and his kinsmen, armed with claymore, dirk and pistol, leading a company of ill-clothed men and boys, many of whom carried only cudgels or sticks.

A Government agent who rode over from Mountsorrel early that morning, says that on reaching the outskirts he alighted and sent back his horse two miles, as he heard the rebels were laying hands on

all the horses they could find. He describes the varied movements in the Market Place, contrasting the appearance of the mounted troops, "chiefly officers very fine dressed," with that of the rank and file, "some neither shoe nor stock." Later, he withdrew to the King's Head Inn, in the Corn Market, where several of the rebel officers civilly invited him to drink with them. Two captains, McCarthy and Graham, he had seen before, although fortunately they did not recognise their companion. Hearing that guards were about to be placed at the ends of the streets, he left the town, and, finding his horse safe, rode home in the darkness.

At dusk, the Prince, a young man of five and twenty, arrived on foot, surrounded by his lifeguards and preceded by the pipers. He wore the Highland tartan and broadsword, and a green bonnet laced with gold covering a white bob-wig. It had been suggested that those few members of the Corporation remaining in town should give him an official reception, but on their pleading that their robes had been sent away, the matter was dropped. He was conducted to his quarters at Lord Exeter's house in Full Street, a mansion which long since disappeared.

Meanwhile, the rank and file were billeted about the town, on rich and poor alike, it being late before all were settled, the men, to the number of seven thousand, marching in until ten or eleven o'clock. The chief officers found lodgings in the best houses in the Market Place, Corn Market, and Morledge; but officers and men were often quartered together. The father of Wright, the painter, removed across Trent when he heard that the rebels were

approaching, and on the family's return they found their house (No. 28, Irongate) had been occupied by three officers and forty men. A gentleman who wrote a spirited letter to the following week's *Mercury*, states that about six o'clock in the evening his house was invaded by six officers and forty privates, who brought with them eight horses. The officers chose the best beds in the house, whilst the men slept on straw on the floor, before great fires. During their stay, they consumed nearly a side of beef, eight joints of mutton, four cheeses, three couple of fowls, abundance of white and brown bread, drams continually, as well as strong ale, beer, tea and other drinks. His opinion of his visitors was not complimentary, and his description of them as "a herd of Hottentots or wild monkeys," with less presentable epithets, was well endorsed by his neighbours.

In the evening, a committee of ways and means was held at Exeter House, when it was decided to raise funds from the townspeople. Accordingly, on the morrow (Thursday) the names of those liable for Government taxation were obtained, and the crier was sent round the town ordering payment by five o'clock, on threat of military execution. The enemy also discovered that a number of townspeople had arranged to subscribe towards a defence fund, whereupon they obtained possession of the document and collected the promised amounts for their own benefit. In all, according to the *Mercury*, they took between two and three thousand pounds. They also demanded a hundred pounds from the Post Office, but, being refused, they took away a post-chaise. A

barn stocked with winter fodder, which stood near the baggage and artillery encampment on Nun's Green, was used by the rebels without stint. Here were collected the carts and wagons, many of which, taken from the farmers on the route, carried the wives and children of the rebels, and also the ammunition for the artillery, consisting of thirteen pieces.

Meanwhile, a system of irregular plunder, which grew in volume as the day advanced, was being perpetrated by the rank and file. The shopkeepers were kept busy selling for little or nothing gloves, buckles, powder-flasks, buttons, handkerchiefs, shoes, or whatever struck the fancy of these marauders; and one of the few traditions remaining in the town is that the rebels demanded bread and cheese from the shopkeepers in an unknown tongue. The cutlers' shops, also, were besieged all day by crowds eager to sharpen swords and claymores, for an advance guard had been sent forward to hold Swarkestone Bridge, and a general impression prevailed that the King's army was near. Towards evening, the insolence of the soldiery became more general, particularly that of the troopers—mercenaries whom the *Mercury* describes as “fierce and desperate ruffians.” Threats were used, and swords and pistols shown on slight provocation; and several persons, refusing to comply with the demands of the rebels, were arrested and placed under military guard.

Unknown, however, to all save a few of the leaders, the invasion was to proceed no further. Early in the evening, a council of war was held in the drawing-room of Exeter House, the oak panelling of whose

walls, now preserved in the Free Library, is all that remains of the historic mansion, in which the fate of the expedition was decided.* Various reports exist of the proceedings. All agree in describing them as stormy and quarrelsome. The inmates heard loud and angry voices, and it is well known that much ill-feeling and jealousy existed between the Scotch and Irish officers, and among the chiefs of the various clans.

Lord George Murray has left an account, which, although milder than that generally accepted, gives the details of the discussion on the main question—that of advance or retreat. The council, he says, believed that the Duke of Cumberland must be that night at Stafford, and it was, therefore, necessary to decide what course to pursue. He pointed out that if they advanced they must soon be enveloped by three armies, and that they themselves, disappointed in the matter of recruits, had not more than five thousand fighting men. The Prince was for advancing, hoping that the royal troops might desert to their side; and the Duke of Perth, although agreeing with Murray, showed his loyalty by seconding the

* In a letter written by Lord Mahon to Sir Edward Kerrison, dated December 4th, 1839, the writer deplores the destruction of Exeter House, and in particular the loss of the oak panelling of the drawing-room, which, he hoped, "might have been preserved elsewhere, but which was sold in lots and dispersed." Fortunately for Derby, this was not the case. The woodwork, nearly entire, was stowed away in the cellars beneath the Assembly Rooms, where it was discovered some twenty-five years ago by Mr. Alfred Wallis and brought by him before the notice of the late M. T. Bass, Esq., M.P., who was then building the Free Library and Museum in the Wardwick. Mr. Bass instantly gave his consent to the purchase of the panels, and a room in the building was especially contrived to receive them.

Prince. The rest of the council were for retreating, some being doubtful if it were now possible to do so successfully. "I said all I thought of to persuade the retreat," writes Murray, "and, indeed, the arguments to me seemed unanswerable." He offered to make all arrangements and to command the rear column, the point of danger, each regiment to act as rear-guard in turn to Carlisle. In the end the Prince consented, although it was observed that he was much disappointed.

The decision of the council was kept secret from the rank and file, although a whisper soon circulated among such officers and chiefs as had not been present; and many were loud in expressing their desire to go forward. "What!" said old Sir John Macdonald to Keppoch, "a Macdonald turn his back!" And, to Lochiel, "For shame—a Cameron run away from the enemy! Go forward, and I'll lead you!" But they had dined, and Derby ale and usquebaugh accounted for something.

Next morning, Friday, the sixth, the retreat began before daybreak, several ruses being invented to deceive both the enemy and the rebels themselves. A troop of horse was sent forward as an advance guard towards Swarkestone whilst ammunition was served out, to suggest that General Wade was advancing from the north. As daylight grew, and familiar objects along the highway showed that the army was retracing its steps, the discontent became general, and for ensuring discipline, it was necessary to spread the fiction that they were marching to meet reinforcements from Scotland. In this way, order was

maintained, although the day's march was marked by silence and gloom.*

About nine o'clock the Prince left his lodgings, mounted on a black horse, said to have been the charger of Colonel Gardiner, who fell at Preston Pans. He rode across the Market Place and down Sadler Gate into the open country—the last of the Stuarts who drew the sword for his lost heritage.

There was little or no market in Derby that Friday, the country people being panic-stricken, and their horses and carts having in many cases been taken by the rebels, and on the following Sunday, no service was held in the churches, the inference being that the clergy had fled with the rest of the gentry, and had not yet returned. There was also no issue of the *Mercury* that week, being the single omission in its career of upwards of one hundred and seventy years. In the next number, published on Friday, December 13th, Mr. Drewry remarks that the "reason why the paper was not published is too well known by all our Readers to need any apology." At the same time, he atones for the omission by giving the public a full and interesting account of the eventful days—an account which had a large sale and was more than once reprinted. In London, it served to correct many false reports—such as that Exeter House had been fired by the rebels, and an

* They left behind them at Derby one piece of ordnance, a cohorn, which after remaining as a curiosity at Breadsall Priory until 1859, unfortunately disappeared in a general sale.

Additional authorities for "The 'Forty-five":—MS. letter in Record Office from Geo. English, Mount Sorrell, December 9th, to Jos. Danvers, Esq., M.P., Chelsea, near London.—"Prince Charles Edward," Lang; "Last Jacobite Rising, 1745," Terry; "History of Leek," Sleigh. Hutton's account.

exaggerated statement of the amount of money which the rebels were said to have collected in the town.

In the following issue, various items of personal interest found place. Reports were common of farmers, who, having been pressed with their teams for a day's journey, found themselves deceived with a false tale, and had continued on, in hopes that their teams would be released, until, fatigued and half-famished, they abandoned their property to the enemy. The post-chaise which the rebels took from the Derby Post Office was found on the roadside some miles beyond Ashbourne, and brought back.

The Derby people also, having lost much money and property, were naturally in a grumbling humour, and the town officers and others did not escape rough criticism. Mr. Heathcote, to whom the subscription-list was originally entrusted, was taken to task for surrendering the document to the rebels; but, in the *Mercury*, he "solemnly declared that before the list was taken from him four pistols were clapped to his breast, and that he and his family were threatened with military execution."

Week by week the *Mercury* followed the movements of the retreating Highlanders, until after some delay came the crushing defeat at Culloden. The news reached Derby on April 24th, 1746, eight days after the battle, and was at once made known to everybody by the usual peals from the church steeples. The subsequent events, the journey of the more distinguished prisoners to London, their trial and execution, all find a place in the *Mercury*, whose

readers remembered the different individuals, and the incidents connected with their sojourn in Derby.

On July 31st, James Sparks, one of the three Derby men who joined the enemy, was taken from Derby gaol along with a Highlander named Webster, and removed under guard to Stafford for trial. According to Hutton, Sparks walked towards Ashbourne on the eventful December 4th to meet the rebels, and made himself busy by pointing out the best houses in the town, and by giving other valuable information. On the retreat, he was soon left behind, for, breaking into a country-house near Ashbourne with some of the rebels, he became helplessly drunk, and was left by his companions lying on the cellar floor. Here he was captured, and brought prisoner to Derby, where the mob, indignant at his traitorous conduct, attempted to drag him from his guards to lynch him.

On August 7th, Lord Lovat, one of the prisoners, passed through Nottingham with great display, riding in a landau drawn by six horses, and guarded by fifty-four of Bland's Dragoons.

The *Mercury* of August 21st contains the report of the beheading of Lords Kilmarnock and Balmerino, both of whom were with the rebels at Derby. It was remembered that Kilmarnock rode in with the Hussars, and lodged in St. Peter's Parish; that Balmerino led the vanguard, a tall figure on a fine black horse, who sat in the saddle for some time in the Market Place near the Piazzas.

When all was quiet, and the most timid were assured that the rebels would not return, a day of

rejoicing was appointed. On October 9th, the holiday began with the ringing of bells and with service in the churches, after which came feasting in each of the parishes, the people of St. Alkmund's dining in a large marquee. The usual bonfires blazed to light up the Market Place and other centres, in the evening, and the Mayor, accompanied by the town music, drank King George's health in front of the Town Hall. According to the *Mercury*, the lighted streets made a brave show, the houses in St. Mary's Gate and Friar Gate being handsomely illuminated.

On December 6th, 1746, the *Mercury* reminded its readers that this was the anniversary of "the precipitate flight of that abandoned crew who had since justly suffered for their madness and folly"; and on the anniversary of Culloden (April 16th, 1747) the town made merry once more with bell-ringing and bonfires, many folks wearing the orange cockade to show their loyalty.

This episode of "The 'Forty-five" brought the *Mercury* into general notice, for it is stated that the issue containing the doings of the rebels in Derby was in much request among the Londoners; and although no record exists to show the circulation of the newspaper in its early years, internal evidence proves that it was on the increase, and that during the first forty years of its career it gradually became an established institution. Advertisements indicate that the local carriers distributed the newspaper to the country people along the different roads; and the new year's number for 1774 has an extended editorial notice informing the public that the paper is delivered with great expedition in the towns lying

within the limits of Sheffield, Lichfield and Loughborough, and that it is filed every Saturday at London coffee houses in Paternoster Row, Ludgate Hill and Fleet Street.

Occasionally, the publication was delayed, when Mr. Drewry's explanations show the primitive news and postal arrangements of the time. The post-boys were an unreliable crew, losing time at ale-houses, and occasionally arriving without the mail-bags. In June, 1750, the London mail was "lost or stolen" on Saturday night between the King's Head Inn and the turnpike, one mile away on the Osmaston Road. On October 9th, 1755, the *Mercury* was late in appearing, owing to the post-boy not arriving until three in the afternoon, his excuse being, "his horse overslipping him and running away with him," the *Mercury* significantly adding, "as he says." The year 1776 opened with heavy snowstorms, which made the roads impassable, and impeded communications. Mr. Drewry's express brought no news from the surrounding country, and the post-boys being late, the paper was not published until Friday morning.

A great improvement was effected at this epoch by the construction of turnpike roads. Shortly after the passing of the Act authorising toll-gates, a meeting of county gentlemen was held at the King's Head Inn (June, 1738) to arrange the position of the different turnpikes (toll-houses); and during the succeeding twenty years most of the roads entering Derby were reconstructed. In 1758, the question of a bridge over the Trent at Shardlow, which had been discussed over many years, was finally settled by the Duke of Devonshire's generosity.

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Improvement in the roads was soon followed by the construction of lighter vehicles—post-chaises became common; the heavy coach, hung on leather straps, gave place to the “flying machine” on steel springs, and the roller wagons, as already shown, disappeared. On May 21st, 1764, “the machine,” as it came to be called, made the journey from Derby to London in one day, but carried no outside passengers, the risk being too great. The Derby and Birmingham coach carried outsiders at half price, but its rate of travel was slow and sure—leaving Derby at five in the morning, taking breakfast at Burton, dinner at Lichfield, and reaching its destination towards evening.

This increase in the number of travellers with money caused a growth of highway robberies, and the thieves generally rifled the coach with impunity and escaped. The Derby coach was stopped on several occasions, beyond Leicester, when it contained a full complement of passengers, who generally gave up their purses without much opposition. The highwaymen do not appear to have been very desperate, sometimes handing back part of their takings to the poorer passengers, and refusing watches, being afraid of subsequent detection. On one occasion a highwayman, supposed to have been a Nottingham gambler, who stopped the Derby coach, had the impudence, after robbing the passengers with poor results, to insult them on their poverty, handing back a shilling to one passenger to enable him to tip the coachman.

In June, 1737, a young man arrived at the King’s Head Inn, travelling from Birmingham to Lincoln,

who reported that he had been stopped by the redoubtable Dick Turpin on Egginton Heath and robbed of four pounds, his watch and some silver being returned to him. At this period, however, Turpin was everywhere, the *Mercury* on one occasion informing the public that the "report that the highwayman captured at Lichfield is Turpin is incorrect." The Burton Road across Egginton Heath was a favourite resort for these gentry. On a June evening in 1764, a clergyman riding with his wife behind him on a pillion was stopped there by a footpad—a young fellow, who presented his pistol with the usual formula, and succeeded in obtaining five guineas. Even the outskirts of Derby were not safe, for in October, 1776, Mr. Ledworth, a tradesman, was riding out on the Osmaston Road after business, when he was attacked by four footpads within half a mile of the town, who presented their pistols and dragged him from his horse, robbing him of his money.

In the town, where there were no police, and where the streets were often in total darkness after night-fall, robbery and violence were not uncommon. Strangers staying at inns required sharp watching, and gangs of thieves wandering from town to town, swept through the market, picking and stealing. In January, 1748, a gang, said to have come from Wirksworth, made a wholesale robbery from the stalls in Derby Market; and in August, 1755, one Anne Williamson, who had broken out of gaol, but was re-taken near York, was hanged at Derby for picking pockets at Ashbourne Fair. She was supposed to be one of a company of thieves, although she refused

to the last to implicate her friends. In 1763, a Jew, whose race, according to the *Mercury*, was responsible for much sharp practice, contrived to steal a silver tankard from the Red Lion Inn. Some drink being served to him, he took it upstairs to his room, where he lowered the tankard from the window by a string, and, leaving the house on some pretext, secured his prize and made off.

Housebreaking, also, was a crime more common in that age, the victims seldom daring to follow the thieves into the darkness of the street, and capture, consequently, being rare. On one occasion, some thieves broke into the house of a tradesman, entered his bedroom, and even attempted to remove his clothes from under his pillow, when on his awakening they fled. In February, 1751, the house of the Rev. Mr. Cantrell, in St. Alkmund's Churchyard, was broken into during the night, the thieves making off with clothes, silk, tea, and other booty, to the amount of about fifty pounds. A hue-and-cry was raised next morning, and several persons in Derbyshire and the adjoining counties were arrested on suspicion, but without result.

A more notorious case at this period was the robbery and murder of an aged lady, Mrs. Vickars, at midnight on the Sunday before Christmas, 1774. As some workmen were passing the house in Full Street at daybreak on Monday morning, their attention was arrested by a woman shouting from the attic window that her mistress had been murdered. On entering the house, they found the old lady lying dead on the floor of her bedroom, presenting a shocking spectacle, her rings torn from her fingers,

and the room ransacked in the search for money. Her woman-servant stated that, being awakened by the cries of her mistress, she hurried downstairs, to find herself stopped by the robber, who threatened to murder her unless she retired ; that, trembling for her life, she crept back to her bedroom, where she passed the long night in uncertainty and fear until daylight came and she then alarmed the passers-by.

Inquiries quickly threw suspicion on one Matthew Cocklane, a whitesmith of the town, whose movements had aroused suspicion, and who had since disappeared. Messengers soon succeeded in tracing him to Ashbourne, and thence to Leek, where he hired a post-chaise for Liverpool ; but in that town he succeeded in eluding his pursuers. It was not until the following October that he was discovered in Dublin and brought back to Derby, arriving late at night in a post-chaise, his capture causing general excitement, "great numbers of all ranks flocking to see him" in prison. Brought before the magistrates, he denied all knowledge of the crime ; but the servant woman, on being brought to the court, recognised the voice before she saw the man, and a few days later the post-boy from Leek identified him amongst a number of felons. At the Assizes in March, 1776, he was convicted, and a few days later was hanged before an "amazing number of spectators." He was accompanied to the gallows by a Methodist preacher, that sect, like the Salvationists of our day, considering none too vile for them to reclaim.

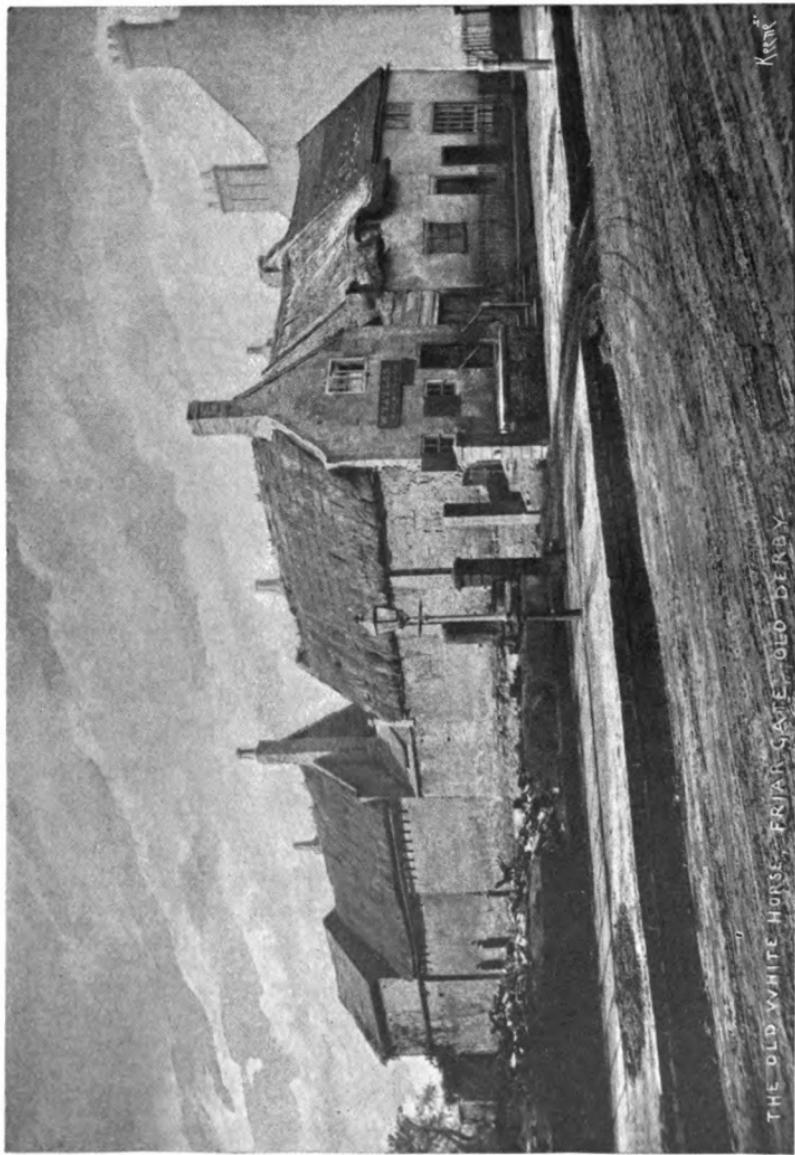
Cocklane's confession, written down by the gaol chaplain, was handed to Mr. Drewry, who printed it separately, informing the public, through the

Mercury, that all copies except his own were incorrect and spurious. In an elaborate mixture of truth and falsehood, Cocklane narrates how he entered the house by a small window from the garden; how he beat down his victim with an iron pin brought by him for the purpose; how he was disturbed in his dreadful work by the Waits, who were passing the house at that moment with their music; how, after some searching, he found a bag of gold (three hundred pounds), and then left the house, hurrying in the darkness along Full Street, through All Saints' Churchyard and St. Mary's Gate, and, crossing Nun's Green, decided to make his way towards Ashbourne.

His body, which should have been given to the surgeons for dissection, was, at the request of some gentlemen of the town, hung in chains near Bradshaw's Hay (Bradshaw Street) as a warning to evil-doers.*

The general interest taken in every Assize is shown by Mr. Drewry's announcement that "the full calendar will be printed in two or three days, and may be had at the printer's," from which his readers primed themselves with information for the eventful occasion. Sermons preached within the gaol were not uncommon. In March, 1740, the Rev. Mr. Christie

* A story, still told in Derby in various ways, narrates how a wager was made at the "Green Dragon" in St. Peter's Street, that one of the company dared not offer the gibbeted corpse a basin of broth "to warm his bones." It was arranged that the ceremony should take place at midnight, as the clock struck the hour. Punctually to the time, the boaster presented himself, and mounting the ladder, exclaimed, "Matthey, thou must be cold up there; here's a basin o' hot broth for thee!" A sepulchral voice groaned, "Blow-ow it!" whereupon the valiant one fell to the ground and fled. The conspirators had secreted a well-known itinerant ventriloquist, "Squeaking Jeremy," at the foot of the gibbet, and the plot was successful.



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THE OLD WHITE HORSE, FRIAR GATE, DERBY.

THE OLD WHITE HORSE, FRIAR GATE.

announced that he would preach at four on the Sunday afternoon, in the debtor's apartment, to the prisoner then under sentence of death, and a few weeks later the sermon was published at the price of threepence. When John Greatorex, the keeper of the gaol, died in 1739, his funeral sermon was preached in the same place by Mr. Christie, who seems to have been prominent on many such occasions.

Tragic as the Assizes usually were, they were not without an occasional gleam of grim humour. In March, 1749, a gang of five persons were each sentenced to seven years' transportation, whereupon they broke out into loud oaths and curses upon the whole court, the judge cutting them short by ordering the javelin-men to remove them to gaol. Prisoners passing between the County Hall and the Gaol in the Corn Market made their way through a crowd of on-lookers and sympathisers, and it behoved the constables to keep a sharp eye on their charges. At the Spring Assizes in 1736, as a number of felons were being removed back to gaol, one woman, sentenced for thieving, stepped aside among the crowd, and was at once lost to view. In March, 1739, Mary Jackson was tried for stealing a quantity of goods from a stall in the Market Place, when the jury, willing, for some reason, to deal leniently with the woman, assessed the value of the goods below one shilling, reducing the charge to one of petty larceny. When the foreman, however, answering the usual question, replied, "Guilty—ten-pence," the prosecuting market-woman, missing the point, and valuing her stolen property at several

shillings, expressed her contempt for the paltry valuation in terms which brought down the laughter of the court.

No attempt was made in those days to screen the prisoners from the gaze of the multitude. The gaol was a place of almost public resort, and convicts in chains were sent to London in the stage wagon along with ordinary passengers. Later, they were sent more expeditiously under the charge of Mr. Simpson, the head gaoler, who was ever anxious to get rid of felons, as they often contrived to file off their fetters preparatory to breaking gaol, although they were generally detected before the critical moment. In 1758, a number of prisoners were found with their fetters sawn through, after which they were made doubly secure by being chained together by their necks. Accordingly, Mr. Simpson sent away his "transports" as soon as possible after conviction, for in April, 1765, it is recorded that "he returned from London on Monday night, and set out early on Tuesday morning with two more convicts," for the same destination. The famous gaoler, Mr. Akerman, of Newgate, also came down occasionally by the Machine to identify old offenders, or escaped felons, lying in Derby Gaol.

Travellers, famous and otherwise, were continually passing through the town, and the rival posting-houses, the "George" and the "King's Head," were always centres of attraction. In June, 1743, three Highlanders, deserters from their regiment in London, who had been arrested in Lancashire, were brought through Derby under military escort, staying the night at the George Inn, and passing on next

morning to their doom. In May, 1755, a post-chaise arrived at the George Inn, with a mysterious person from Manchester, guarded and heavily ironed, who left next morning for London. Although nothing was definitely known of him, it was whispered that he was a rebel who had been out in "The 'Forty-five." Among the crowd of felons, King's messengers, and nobles who travelled by post-chaise, came occasionally a German prince, who spent a day or two in viewing the lions, and passed on; or a member of the royal family, who was pleased to talk with the Postmaster from the chaise window whilst changing horses. In July, 1763, the Duke of York, posting down to Scarboro', stopped for a few minutes at the George Inn, amidst a large crowd that lined the streets to get a sight of him. On the landlord informing him of the eagerness of the people to see His Highness, he graciously commanded the postillions to drive slowly through the town.*

* An ancestor of Lord Scarsdale disbursed the following in posting from London to Kedleston Hall in May, 1774:—

			£	s.	d.
Horses to Barnet and bill	...	...	3	19	0
Ostler and Sundrys	...	...	0	2	6
Horses to St. Albans	...	...	1	10	0
Do. Dunstable	...	...	1	16	0
Do. Woburn	...	...	1	7	0
The Bill at Newport	...	...	1	5	3
Waiters at do.	...	...	0	3	0
Horses to Northampton	...	...	2	7	0
The Bill at do.	...	...	2	9	0
Waiter and Chambermaids	...	...	0	5	6
Horses to Harboro'	...	...	2	13	0
Do. Leicester	...	...	2	5	0
Do. Loughborough	...	...	1	13	0
The Bill at do.	...	...	1	8	6
Waiters	...	...	0	3	0
Horses to Kedleston	...	...	3	2	0
Minding the coach	...	...	0	3	0
Postboys and oslers	...	...	3	2	0
			£	29	13 9

Another personage whose arrival caused general commotion was Dr. Taylor, oculist to His Majesty, who made several stays in Derby. On April 22nd, 1748, the *Mercury* states that "Dr. Taylor arrived at the 'George' late last night from Nottingham," and that he would lecture that evening to the gentry and others in the Assembly Room, tickets to be obtained at the inn. Next week we are informed that crowds of persons, blind wholly or partially, were waiting at his rooms, his success on previous occasions having earned him widespread notoriety. James Hopkinson, who was restored to sight on the occasion of the Doctor's last visit, was still a witness to his powers; and Adam Wragg, an old man of seventy, who came from Wirksworth, recovered the sight of an eye on the previous Wednesday. The poor were treated free, and the Doctor, accordingly, had more work than he was able to accomplish. His fame, due partly to skill, and principally to advertisement, was a household word for many years, for as late as 1764 he was again at Derby, as the "Chevalier Taylor," effecting his cures.

Another celebrity of more lasting fame, whose journeys through Derby during this period may be noticed, was Dr. Samuel Johnson, whose visit to Kedleston Hall in September, 1777, was the occasion for one of those sage remarks which still make his biography valuable. When Boswell, who accompanied him, observed that the owner of such magnificent possessions must be happy, "Nay, sir," said the great man, "all this excludes but one evil—poverty."

These visits to his friend, Dr. Butler, a Derby physician, at a period when Johnson's position in the

world of letters was assured, appear in strong contrast with his journey to Derby some forty years previous, when he brought the Widow Porter from Birmingham to marry her at St. Werburgh's Church in 1735. A strange pair they must have appeared entering the town, each on horseback, he, odd and ungainly, the widow with her painted face somewhat disfigured; for, as Johnson explained to Boswell many years later, there had been a tiff and some tears by the way.

Besides the great posting-houses, the numerous inns throughout the town formed constant features of interest in the billeting of troops, sometimes on the march, but often stationed in the town for several months. In June, 1740, three troops of Life Guards, after being quartered in the town, marched away on their route for Windsor. At the festivities held to celebrate the peace of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, the Scots Greys, then quartered in Derby, formed a guard of honour to the Mayor and Corporation, who went in procession to All Saints' Church.

Military incidents of varied character were constantly occurring. Now, it is a report of firearms at an inn, and a soldier is found, either by accident or design, to have shot himself; again, a drunken fellow runs his bayonet through two of the guard before he is overpowered and arrested. In January, 1758, one George Hedley was pressed for a marine, but, not relishing the prospect, he made a dash for liberty on the arrival of the military escort, whereupon they raised their muskets and shot him dead. In November, 1747, the populace witnessed the degrading spectacle of a soldier, said to have spoken some

treasonable words against the Government, being whipped and drummed-out of his regiment, with a halter round his neck, and a paper on his back recording the offence.

In April, 1760, the Cheshire militia, over six hundred strong, marched into the town to the sound of fifes and kettle-drums, and took up their quarters. A few days later, an event occurred, in which the presence of the troops proved of the greatest service. An arrangement was made on a certain Friday that the County Justices should meet the Deputy Lieutenant at the Town Hall, and it was observed that groups of rustics, armed with heavy sticks, were collecting about the Market Place. The Mayor, noticing their unusual behaviour, questioned some of them, but to no purpose, until about ten o'clock, word reached him that more men were coming in, and that a riot was expected. He thereupon informed the commanding officer of the militia, who took prompt action. The drums beat to arms, the troops mustered in the Market Place, ammunition was served out, guards were placed at every avenue into the town, and the incipient riot was nipped in the bud.

For some years past, much irritation had existed between the landowners and the peasantry on the game question, and disturbances ensued, in which the Derby military took part.

Four years earlier, a serious riot occurred in Derby, due in great measure to there being no show of military power then available. The years 1755 and 1756 brought poor harvests in the north Midlands; the price of corn rose beyond the reach of the people, and discontent became general. The millers were

accused of grinding peas and beans, and even lime and plaster, with the corn ; and it was said that Mr. Evans's miller at Darley boasted that he could grind ten pounds' worth of corn into twenty pounds' worth of flour. Moreover, there was a strong feeling against the French millstones, lately imported by way of the Derwent, as they ground finer than the old-fashioned millstones, and were believed to facilitate this adulteration of the flour.

Early in September, the miners around Wirksworth broke into riot, when several mills were seized, and the obnoxious French millstones were destroyed. The authorities at Derby, foreseeing further trouble, sent to Nottingham for assistance, and some troops were despatched, although, unfortunately, too few to preserve the peace. On Saturday, September 4th, about ten o'clock in the morning, the Mayor was informed that the miners in great numbers were marching on Derby to attack the mills. The troops were thereupon called up, and a detachment was sent off to Darley to protect Mr. Evans's mill, which lay in the line of march of the rioters ; and, fortunately, the soldiers arrived before the mob, who found the bridge leading to the mill stopped by a line of bayonets. The crowd attempted to force a passage by pelting the soldiers with stones, and the troops eventually replied by firing on the people. Although no one was hit, the musketry fire had the desired effect, for the crowd gave up their attempt upon the mill, and pressed forward for Derby.

Arrived there, they first made for Snape's mill on Nun's Green ; but finding on entering that the French millstones had been taken away, they retired without

doing further mischief, and proceeded over the hill to the mill at the foot of St. Michael's Lane. Here they soon found work for their hammers ; the French millstones were smashed to pieces, and the bolting-mill was wrecked and destroyed. Elated with this success, they next attacked the flour-mill in the Holmes ; but there the miller had summoned his friends to his assistance, and for some time the rioters were kept at bay. Presently, some of the soldiers arrived on the scene, and succeeded, whilst daylight lasted, in holding the mill against the enemy ; but as darkness came on, the authorities considered it advisable to withdraw the troops, whereupon the mob burst into the mill, and finding the French stones, effected their purpose. The soldiery succeeded in arresting six of the rioters, whom they escorted to the gaol, the crowd following, stoning and wounding the captors, who, after much provocation, fired on the mob, one man being badly wounded in the knee.

Darkness stopped the rioters for the night ; but on Sunday, whilst the Mayor was holding a meeting in the Town Hall to enrol special constables, the crowd again assembled in the Market Place, presenting a threatening demeanour. The Mayor, being a corn-merchant, was naturally the object of much resentment, one man going up to his Worship and emphasising some insulting remarks by shaking his hand in the face of the Mayor, who struck him and ordered him to be locked up. To restore the peace, it was necessary towards evening to read the Riot Act, and to order everyone to be indoors by nine o'clock, on pain of penalties. During the ensuing week, there were signs of further disorder, but the arrival of a

reinforcement and the liberation of the prisoners on light bail, gradually restored quiet. The authorities followed the wise course of omitting to prosecute, the temper of the people being evidently understood. The discontent was widespread, and soldiers scarce, so that for once the crowd was able to defy the authorities with impunity.

This riot, the work of men driven to desperation by famine, drew the attention of the wealthy to the miserable condition of the people, and unusual efforts were made for their relief. A number of gentlemen in the town formed an association to bring corn up the river in regular quantities throughout the winter, and to sell it to the poor at a reasonable price. They continued their work until the following August, when, finding the new harvest would be normal, they settled their accounts, having purchased in eight months 1,930 strikes (bushels) of wheat. Individual charity was general, as usual; Sir Nathaniel Curzon, amongst others, on leaving town in December, on his way to London for the opening of Parliament, distributing 120 strikes of wheat among the poor.

This scarcity of corn and provisions recurred at frequent intervals, causing riots and disorder, which in turn affected the commercial security of the neighbourhood. In October, 1766, riots took place in Leicester, during which the mob stole the cheese from the Derby wagon and elsewhere, and sold it among themselves at twopence per pound, the wholesale price at Derby Fair being nearly threepence. The disorder spread to Cavendish Bridge, where the rioters sacked the warehouses, stopped the traffic on the river, and held sway for several days, the loss of

property, principally cheese, being estimated at a thousand pounds. The Mayor of Derby maintained order in the town by enrolling special constables ; by threatening rioters with the loss of their burgess-rights, and by ordering all persons to be within doors after dark. Several troops of light dragoons patrolled the neighbourhood, and were reinforced by others as matters became more alarming.

On Thursday, October 10th, the cavalry escorted several Justices of the Peace to Cavendish Bridge, where they succeeded in arresting about thirty of the rioters, who were brought in a wagon to Derby to be secured in the County Gaol. This seizure was not effected without disorder, for the crowd followed the guarded wagon into the town, where they arrived about four in the afternoon, the soldiers being pelted along the road with stones. Here the crowd assembled in the Market Place, and, as the situation appeared threatening, the Mayor read the Riot Act, when the soldiers, charging the mob, scattered them with drawn swords.

The authorities, however, made haste to appease the passions of the hungry multitude, and a meeting was held at the King's Head Inn, at which fore-stallers and engrossers were threatened with the law ; an advertisement also appeared ordering farmers to bring their corn to market, the Mayor guaranteeing protection ; and another meeting arranged for the distribution of cheap corn to the poor. The rioters, also, were leniently dealt with, most of them being liberated on bail ; and at the following Assizes the twenty-seven men who were committed were sentenced to the light punishment of a week's imprisonment.

Severe weather, fire, flood, and famine appealed in turn to the generosity of the rich, who vied with each other in responding to these calls. During "the dreadful winter of 'Forty," the Mayor distributed twenty pounds among the different parishes for the poor, and his example was followed by several wealthy townspeople, a house-to-house collection also being made. In March, 1765, the price of corn and other provisions being high, John Gisborne, Esq., made a general distribution of parcels of wheat, varied according to the size of individual households.

Nevertheless, life upon the whole was far from miserable, even in those uncertain times. The movement of people in the streets, the varied and striking incidents, the fairs and festivals, furnished interest and amusement for both rich and poor. The factory system, although growing, was by no means general; the stockingers, tailors, shoemakers, glovers and many small tradespeople, worked at home; the artisan's time was his own, and an hour wasted in gossip or sightseeing could be replaced later by extra diligence.

The extensive area and increased population of modern Derby make it difficult for us to realise the Derby of 1750, with its small and compact population of seven thousand souls living within a limited area, where every incident afforded gossip from the Market Place to the outskirts. Everybody knew when the Greenland Bear was on view at the Angel Inn; no posters were necessary to inform the public that Astley, the famous horse-rider from London, was in the Holmes. The large inns furnished accommodation

for all and sundry—the collection of marble figures on view at the Virgin's Inn, said to have been taken out of a French man-of-war homeward bound from Lima; Widow Rayner's company of rope-dancers in the White Hart Yard in Irongate; or the ostriches "from Santa Cruz, in Barbary," to be seen at the Blackamore's Head, in the Market Place. In April, 1750, a wild beast show with an extensive collection of animals was on view in the White Hart Yard, where it was visited by the Judge of Assize and several members of the Bar, affording the exhibition a valuable advertisement.

The strolling players, also, came to town for the Assize week, when company and money were plentiful. Until about the year 1760, the plays were performed in booths erected in the inn yards; and an announcement for December, 1738, of River's Company of Comedians "at the Theatre," apparently refers to a temporary structure. In August, 1772, a play was announced at the "Theatre at the County Hall," although, for some years previous, the Old Assembly Rooms in Full Street, after being used occasionally for theatricals, were converted into a permanent theatre on the opening of the New Assembly Rooms in 1765, and became known as the "little Theatre in Full Street."

In May, 1760, Durravan's Company of Comedians announced that they would play three times a week, on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, beginning with a somewhat extensive programme, which included a concert of vocal and instrumental music, a play entitled "The Orphan; or the Unhappy Marriage," and the farce, "High Life Below Stairs,"

never before produced in Derby. A few weeks later the military officers in town patronised the theatre, their custom on these occasions being to bespeak the play. In September, 1764, Whiteley's Comedians held the boards, a company which in 1773 had the distinction of opening a larger theatre in Bold Lane, with Goldsmith's new comedy, "She Stoops to Conquer." In December, 1765, Sir Henry Harpur and his lady opened the theatre in Full Street for the evening free to the public, the play, by request, being "The Jealous Wife." Moreover, there was an interval for refreshments, also gratis, when tea, wine, cake, sweetmeats, negus, and other confections were handed round. There was a crowded house.

For those who had but few shillings to spend on comedians or wild-beast shows, there were plenty of spectacles—the annual Shrove Tuesday football, when the "foreigners" came in to assist from the surrounding villages; the civic processions, with their ale drinkings; and the Assizes, with their gay crowds and their grim sequels.

The punishment of prisoners was an everlasting source of interest. In February, 1748, a woman and her daughter, thieves, were whipped at the cart's tail from the Gaol at the foot of St. Peter's Street, round the Market Place, and back to the prison. Bull-baiting was a well-established institution, for in October, 1772, it is incidentally mentioned that "during the bull-baiting in the Market Place," a rogue was observed to be busy picking pockets, whereupon the crowd hustled him into the Morledge, where they threw him over the bridge into the stream.

Festive occasions, with bonfires, torches, three

volleys, and barrels of ale were common. In 1747, when Mr. Franceys was Mayor, in addition to the usual rejoicings on the occasion of the King's birthday, the troops in town fired volleys in the Market Place, being rewarded by his Worship with five guineas for their services. Afterwards the Mayor invited a host of gentry and neighbours to an elaborate feast at the George Inn, where everything was to be had, including "wine and punch." On Mr. Franceys' death, four months later, the *Mercury's* eulogy implies that his civic hospitality outshone that of his contemporaries.

After King George's health had been drunk for thirty-three years, His Majesty died suddenly in October, 1760; and six days later his grandson, George III., whose health was to be drunk for the next sixty years, was proclaimed in the Market Place with much state. The Mayor and Corporation, accompanied by the High Sheriff, with the town music and the militia, proceeded to the Town Hall steps, where the new King was proclaimed, amid the acclamations of a great concourse of people; and on the new King's birthday, the militia marched from Nun's Green to the Market Place, where they fired the regulation three volleys, the band playing "God Save the King."

This custom of accompanying the toast with the rattle of musketry was made prominent in July, 1776, when the Mayor and Corporation accepted the hospitality of Lord Scarsdale at Kedleston Hall. Some cannon were secretly planted behind the foliage along the park lake, and when the company raised their glasses to the health of the King, the artillery

unexpectedly boomed forth the triumph of the pledge.

With soldiers continually arriving, bringing stories of victory and conquest, it is not surprising that loyalty and patriotism were strong sentiments, and that British superiority was accepted as a national axiom. In December, 1756, some troops marched into Derby for the winter, having recently abandoned the island of Minorca to the French, through the cowardice, as all England then believed, of Admiral Byng. It is easy to understand how these soldiers would inflame the public mind against the Admiral, and with what satisfaction the *Mercury* of March, 1757, would be read, when he was shot on his flagship by order of the court-martial.

The tide of conquest soon turned; in India, in America, and on the high seas, the Frenchmen were driven before us, the bells rang out victory after victory, and Minorca and Admiral Byng were speedily forgotten. In July, 1759, the results of conquest were made manifest to the Derby people by the arrival of three hundred French prisoners of war, all officers of marine, sent up country from Hampshire to prevent their escape. The publicans, who had more than enough trouble with ordinary troops, shut their doors on these travellers, and the authorities were obliged to place the Town Hall and other public buildings at their disposal; whilst a number of gentlemen of the town, showing their British generosity, busied themselves in finding lodgings for the Frenchmen.

The *Mercury* describes them as gentlemen, being well dressed, and not short of pocket-money. Their

means, however, were far from sufficient to tide them over the four years of their stay in Derby, and it is dismal to read of men accustomed to order and command, being employed upon labourer's work of road-making, and earning sixpence a day. Even the unfriendly critic in the All Saints' Register, who sneers at their vanity and effeminacy, and laughs at the sight of a gentleman in bag-wig and ruffles handling a wheelbarrow, admits that "scarce one act of fraud or theft was committed by any one of them." One of their methods of earning a livelihood is suggested by the advertisement announcing that "Messrs. Dairou and Vincent teach the French language at Mountney's, next door to the 'Green Dragon' in the Corn Market." Some among them, determined to risk everything, broke their parole and made a dash for liberty. In February, 1760, several of these offenders were captured in London and imprisoned, two of them being brought back to Derby to identify certain townspeople who were said to have assisted in their escape.

The position of the French prisoners in Derby during those years of loss and disaster to their country was irritating and humiliating. As the news of successive victories arrived and the town went wild with excitement, it is easy to picture the exiles anxious to escape the public gaze, and thanking heaven when the last bonfire had burned low and the uproar was over.

On October 19th, 1759, news arrived of the capture of Quebec, and the night was spent in rejoicing. The bells, the bonfires, the house illuminations, all played their parts, as usual; the Mayor drank the

round of healths on the Town Hall steps, whilst the crowd imitated him below ; the young men sported cockades and drank wine ; and the *Mercury*, catching the enthusiasm, reports that " the public-houses were crowded."

A month later came the report of the great naval victory off Brest, and the destruction of the French fleet. The news arrived on a Sunday, when illuminations would have been unseemly ; nevertheless, the bells were rung all day except during service. On Monday the town gave vent to its pent-up feelings—bonfires were everywhere, and lighted candles in every window, the rejoicings being maintained to a late hour. This method of general illumination, feeble as it would seem to modern eyes, appeared brilliant in those days, when street lamps were unknown. The crowd, with drums and music, parading the streets by torchlight, presented a scene at once weird and picturesque, unknown to our generation except upon the stage. The centre of light and interest was, of course, in the Market Place, where Brentnall's wine vaults were very largely patronised, and where, doubtless, valour rose as the hour grew later.

Another great occasion for display occurred in October, 1762, on the taking of Havanna in the West Indies, a success made glorious by the three million pounds' worth of property which fell to the victors.

When peace came, there were the same festivities on Thanksgiving Day, joy being mingled with pride that the nation had won all the victories and gathered all the spoils ; for the writer of the All Saints' entry echoed the general conviction when he stated that " in any future war this nation has

nothing to fear from the French as an enemy." The seven years of foreign conquest came to an end in May, 1763, when there were rejoicings over the Treaty of Peace, which confirmed the extension of the British possessions in every quarter of the globe; although probably no one rejoiced more than the French prisoners, who were marched away towards Hull to be shipped for home.

Fourteen years had elapsed since the peace of Aix la Chapelle, when in April, 1749, the Mayor, with the Town Waits playing before him, proceeded to All Saints' Church, the mounted troops and the wool-combers, with their banner of Bishop Blaize, making a stirring spectacle. In the evening, the usual bonfires and ale-drinkings took place before the Town Hall, when the wool-combers delivered their speech to his Worship, referring to the wool trade as being the chief national industry, which sounds like an ancient oration.

These health-drinkings on the occasion of birthdays, victories and peace-rejoicings, although frequent, were neither so deep nor so continuous as those accompanying the Parliamentary elections, which at intervals set the town in a ferment. Often the candidates were elected without opposition; but it would have been considered paltry to deprive the common burgess of the means of making merry on such occasions, and drink was always distributed. In July, 1746, Viscount Duncannon was elected without opposition, but the festivities included a grand dinner at the George Inn, and several barrels of ale set abroad in the streets for the populace. The meaner burgess-voter was presented with a ten-shilling ticket,

to enable "him and his friends to drink when they thought proper." In December, 1765, William Fitz-Herbert, Esq., was elected without opposition, and dinners were given, evidently to both parties, at the George Inn and the King's Head; whilst the commoners, who were not invited, were each presented with a five-shilling ticket. In October, 1767, however, there was a contested election, so that for once, the common-burgess ruled the situation, the price of his vote doubtless rising to its standard value. Over seventy public-houses were thrown open by the rival parties, and money was scattered broadcast—five guineas were even sent to Mr. Simpson, the Governor of the Gaol, for the prisoners to take a share in the good times.

One of the most remarkable political demonstrations in Derby took place in February, 1776, when Parliament reversed the result of the recent expensive election on the ground of bribery, and the Tory party this time gained the day. Over a hundred persons went up to London as witnesses, many travelling by post-chaise, their career being checked by a heavy snowstorm, which detained them for some days at Market Harboro'. The inquiry before the Committee of the House of Commons lasted a week; and when the express-rider reached Derby on February 9th with the result, he was carried around the town in triumph, whilst the bells commenced a peal, which continued day after day, until the successful Mr. Daniel Parker Coke himself arrived on the fifteenth. It is clear, from a letter in the *Mercury*, that party feeling ran high, and that the sound of the bells not only expressed the delight of the victors, but was

intended as a constant reminder of defeat to the vanquished.

Mr. Coke arrived about noon, accompanied by a crowd of friends who went out as far as Shardlow to meet and accompany him into town. A procession was then formed, which marched through the principal streets, led by marshals on horseback bearing blue flags; the wool-combers, decked out in combings of all colours; people from the Old Silk Mill, in silk streamers; butchers from Nottingham mounted on horseback; and trumpeters, preceding the hero of the hour, Mr. Coke, who was carried aloft in a magnificent chair, and followed by a carriage with Sir Henry Harpur, to whose energy and determination the triumph was greatly due. Then came the dinner at the King's Head Inn, after which six of the Nottingham butchers astonished the Derby people by ringing a peal on their cleavers. On the Tuesday following, two oxen were distributed to Mr. Coke's burgesses, in pieces of fourteen pounds weight, along with shilling loaves. The Whig faction, however, always the predominating influence in Derby politics, soon regained the position, which they continued to hold almost uncontested until the Reform Bill extended the franchise.

This Whig influence, wielded somewhat unscrupulously by the Cavendish family, was not altogether without beneficial effect both on the political and religious life of the town. The Church was ultra-Tory and intolerant of Dissent, whilst the Cavendishes consistently opposed both these policies. In Derby, therefore, their powerful influence softened the asperities of political life, and to some extent

shielded the Dissenters from persecution; although to the poor the question of Church *versus* Dissent, when regarded from the point of view of doles and charities, was very one-sided. The gentry of the town might be divided into Whigs and Tories, but both parties went to church on Sundays; and the Mayor, as already shown, distributed town-money in time of distress through the churchwardens, who would scarcely be likely to remember many of the poor Dissenters. In March, 1736, the bells rang at all the churches during most of the afternoon, on receiving news that "the Dissenters had miscarried in their endeavour to get the Corporation and Test Acts repealed," whereby they would have been able to take public office in the town. Hutton tells us that he was the only Dissenter among the boys at the silk mill, and one of the clerks, anxious to make a convert, offered him the bribe of a half-penny for each Sunday that he would go to church. Hutton, with whom half-pence in those days were scarce, took the bait, and spent his time in a remote pew with the other boys, playing pushpin. The influence of the Church was evidently strong, and even the poor, although they might seldom attend service, received their share of its benefactions, and looked askance at the sectaries outside the pale.

In March, 1764, the Rev. John Wesley, then engaged in his religious work among the masses of the people, came to Derby. With his wonted energy, he had that day ridden from Walsall, a distance of some thirty miles, and about five o'clock, "attended by a great number of his followers," says the *Mercury*, "he attempted to preach in the Market Place, but

was so much insulted by the mob that he was obliged to desist." Wesley, in his *Journal*, says that there "seemed a general inclination, even among people of fashion," to hear him, the Mayor having offered to preserve order; but it is clear that the mob at Derby, as at other places, ruled on this occasion, and it would almost appear from Wesley's account that there was a preconcerted arrangement to make their opposition effective. "They were pretty quiet until I named the text," he says. "Then 'the beasts of the people' lifted up their voice, hallooing and shouting on every side. As it was impossible to be heard, I walked softly away." The crowd followed, throwing a few stones, but without effect, and Wesley, having reached Mr. Dobinson's house, at which he was staying, the mob soon dispersed. In the following March, however, Wesley returned to open a Methodist conventicle, when he preached to a numerous audience.

An effort at religious revival was also made at this period by the Quakers, the novelty of their women-preachers attracting much attention. In July, 1739, Mrs. Drummond, a Quakeress, was drawn from the King's Head Inn in a chariot to the County Hall, where she addressed great crowds both morning and evening. Again, in August, 1774, there was a large meeting of the Quakers in the Town Hall, many of them coming from a great distance. The audience was addressed by three women, one of whom, Tobiah Darby, spoke so effectively as to move her hearers to tears.

One denomination which must have been very unobtrusive in Derby in those days was the Roman

Catholic. Even the *Mercury*, which could tolerate Methodists and other Dissenters, does not hesitate occasionally to publish verses in which the trickery of priests and the knavery of popes are made prominent. In August, 1734, one John Smith was hanged for housebreaking, who informed the crowd almost with his last breath that he died "a Catholic." He had been waited upon in gaol by the town clergy after the usual fashion, and it was understood that he had "made his peace" through them; but, according to the *Mercury*, he had also been privately visited by some interfering persons, who received him into the Church of Rome. "Catholic," so insinuates the *Mercury*, could only have one meaning. Its readers probably inserted "Jacobite." On the fifth of November, 1747, the usual bell-ringing and bonfires received point from a string of scurrilous verses in the *Mercury* narrating a conversation between the Pope and his Satanic Majesty. On the other hand, there was a strong protest against the town boys, who startled quiet people with their squibs and small cannon, as they have continued to do down to modern times.

Clearly, any one of the common people who declared himself a Papist in Derby in those days would have been ostracised; and as late as the middle of the next century the Roman Catholic gentry closed their shutters early in the evening on the fifth of November.

The Established Church, although it might be thought inert and apathetic, was yet a centre of some culture and musical display. Organs were becoming more general, and Oratorios, which afterwards

developed into an important feature of Derby town life, were becoming known, one being announced to take place in St. Werburgh's Church in May, 1772.

The various contributions to the columns of the *Mercury* also show a better taste for poetry, and literature in general; and it is evident that education among the wealthy was at no mean level. The Grammar School presented no sign of the lethargy of the next century; its scholars were numerous, and capable of distinguishing themselves. In March, 1753, ten of the students took part in the play of "Cato," performed for the benefit of the orphans of the late usher, when the spectacle was witnessed by a large and select company, the dresses and appointments being elaborate. The prologue is stated by the *Mercury* to have been written by one of the scholar-actors, a youth of sixteen.*

Poetry, more or less readable, was common in the pages of the *Mercury*. Now, we are informed that a gentleman has composed some verses on the "Happiness of Virtue," and that Mr. Drewry has been instructed to print a hundred copies on fine paper for the writer to distribute amongst his friends; now it

*No Garrick here majestic treads the stage,
No Quin, your whole attention to engage,
No practis'd actor, here, the scene employs,
But a raw parcel of unskilful boys.

As when some peasant, who to treat his lord,
Brings out his little stock and decks his board
With what his ill-stor'd cupboard will afford,
With awkward bows, and ill-placed rustic airs
To make excuses for his feast prepares;
So we, with tremor mix'd with vast delight,
View the bright audience which appears to-night,
And conscious of its meanness, hardly dare
To bid you welcome to our homely fare.

is a long eulogy in verse on the occasion of the death of Dr. Almond, of the Grammar School; and again it is a sonnet by a love-sick poet who was smitten at the Assembly, and who indites a "woeful ballad made to his mistress' eyebrow," under the heading, "On seeing K---y B-1--y at an Assembly in Derby." Probably all the town knew the fair Catharina, and the quizzing and the merriment would be general; for people in those days did not hide their feelings, as modern etiquette requires—they laughed heartily and wept copiously. They courted the public gaze rather than avoided it, and loved display in dress and pageant. In July, 1737, when the Earl of Exeter and his lady came to Derby for a stay at their town house, the bells were rung in their honour; and in March, 1744, when his lordship and his household were expected from Stamford, the family tradesmen rode out some distance to meet them, and escorted them into town with great display.

The funerals of the period were also occasions for much pomp and ceremonial, the obsequies generally taking place in the darkness of the evening, when flambeaux or large candles carried by the mourners added to the weirdness and gloom. In December, 1760, the funeral of Thomas Gisborne, Esq., J.P., took place at night, the hearse being followed from his house to St. Alkmund's Church by the Mayor and Corporation, with the gentry, relations and servants, all provided with "hatbands, scarves and gloves." On April 6th, 1763, Thomas Rivett, Esq., who had filled the posts of Mayor, Justice of the Peace, High Sheriff, and Member for the Borough, died at Bath,

his remains being brought to his native town for burial. On the thirteenth, the hearse was met at the outskirts in the evening by the gentry and trades-people of the town on horseback, and escorted to All Saints' Church.

On the other hand, when the Duke of Devonshire was brought to Derby for burial, in October, 1764, all pomp and display were dispensed with, only the family custom of distributing a hundred pounds among the poor being retained; for the Cavendishes were above criticism, and could ignore local custom and prejudice with impunity. Their exalted position commanded the deference and attention of every faction in the town; and in any local disagreement on ways and means, the presence of the Duke silenced all sections, and the business in hand was soon adjusted. The case of the Cavendish bridge at Shardlow has already been noticed; and the New Assembly Rooms, built at this period, owed their existence in great measure to Cavendish liberality. In February, 1763, the Blackamore's Head in the Market Place began to be demolished, to form a site for this new structure, and on September 10th, 1765, the present noble building was opened, the Duke and his two uncles being present at a brilliant assembly of the gentry of the town and neighbourhood.

Another valuable improvement at this period was the demolition of the damp and antiquated prison over the brook in the Corn Market, where so many generations of felons, martyrs and political offenders had made their moan. In May, 1756, the old structure had almost disappeared, and much of the material

carted to Nun's Green, to be used in building the new gaol where "the ground had been marked out near the Cross*" on the road leading to Ashbourne."

There was also a movement on foot for the general improvement of the town, and a meeting was held at the Town Hall in November, 1774, to consider the question of paving and lighting the streets, but it was some years before a practical solution was reached. The brook-course also attracted attention occasionally through the Press, the dangerous nature of the unguarded stream, with its pools and side ditches, causing many disasters. Children sometimes fell into the water and were drowned; one, rescued after a considerable interval, revived, we are told, after a vigorous rubbing with salt. Now a person is reported to have been drowned in the pool at Nun's Mill; again a tradesman, supposed to have been "in drink," missed the footpath at the Gaol Bridge and staggered into the stream. The neighbours heard the splash, but nothing could be done in the darkness, and he sank. On another occasion two wool-combers, reeling out of the foot of Walker Lane, "in drink," and unable to keep the narrow path which bounded "the ditch," stumbled in, one of them being drowned.

Periodically, the brook rose, and worked ruin along its course. Minor floods, in which "the streets were under water," were not uncommon, but several times in a century the event was one to be remembered.

* This was the Headless Cross, or "The Plague-stone," now in the Arboretum, but standing (within living memory) built up in part of the wall of the Gaol in Friargate.

In January, 1774, there was a flood on market day, interfering seriously with business, when many persons from villages along the Markeaton valley found difficulty in returning home, boats being required at several points. On the following Monday, the flood rose again, higher than before, reaching its worst about seven in the evening, the current pouring through the town in the darkness, terrifying the householders in the valley, washing down the wall of St. Werburgh's churchyard, and carrying away the wooden bridge at Bold Lane. In the Corn Market the water extended as far as the Rotten Row.

Nevertheless, the brook served one useful purpose, being always available in case of fire, especially in winter time, when pumps and cisterns were hard frozen. In December, 1767, a servant at the White Lion Inn attempted to thaw the pump in the yard by the aid of some lighted straw, causing a serious fire, with much destruction and confusion. In a short time the helpers were numerous, passing the buckets along to feed the engines with water, but more, as usual, was wasted than used, for the inn yard was flooded, the pumpers "standing in the water up to their knees."

The parish engines were destined to undergo little alteration for many years, although mechanical improvement in other directions was becoming conspicuous. Steam as a motive power was superseding the old methods, and about the middle of the century "fire-engines" (steam engines) were coming into use for pumping purposes at the neighbouring collieries. Nevertheless, wind and water still turned the town corn mills, or a horse walked his round at the mill

in St. Peter's Street. In the Holmes, a water-wheel turned the machinery where iron and copper plates were rolled and fashioned at the Slitting Mill.

Local vehicular traffic, also, was growing, and chariots and family coaches gave employment to carriage-builders and allied trades. In the houses, sash-windows were beginning to be seen, in place of small casements, and leaden down-spouts were fitted to the best houses some years before the town bye-law made them general. Men of genius and enterprise were not lacking in the town. Whitehurst was making a name with his clock-building, Strutt was busy with his new stocking-frame, and Duesbury was establishing the china industry. In December, 1752, Benjamin Yates announced that he intended to continue the iron-gate work of his old master, Robert Bakewell, lately deceased, whose artistic hammer-work may still be seen in All Saints' Church.*

Occasionally, an obituary brings to notice some prominent townsman. In February, 1770, Thomas Bennett, who for forty-six years managed the silk mill, died, aged seventy-six, having been the greatest employer of labour in the town. In March, 1764, died William Butts, the proprietor of the pot-works on Cockpit Hill, a business which preceded the more artistic work of Duesbury, recently established.

In September, 1767, Thomas Smith, an artist, generally alluded to as "Smith, of Derby," was widely celebrated for his landscape paintings, and

* In the alterations which took place in 1873-4, much of Bakewell's artist-work in hammered iron was most improperly taken down and sold. The old engravings of the interior and exterior of All Saints' Church bear testimony to the loss that Derby has sustained in this respect.

buried at St. Alkmund's Church, having died at Bath.* In November, 1763, Dr. Almond, headmaster of the Grammar School for many years, died at his house in St. Peter's Churchyard, and was succeeded by his head assistant, the Rev. Thomas Manlove, M.A., under whose joint management the school had attained to a high degree of efficiency. On August 7th, 1769, Samuel Drewry, who for thirty-seven years constituted himself the local historian, died at the age of sixty-four, leaving the conduct of the *Mercury* to John Drewry, his nephew.



PART II.—1776-1840

Derby, in the early part of the reign of George III., was a small closely-built town, consisting of a number of narrow, crooked streets, of which Sadler Gate still remains as an example. During the century, new buildings arose, among which the Town Hall and the Assembly Rooms were the most artistic, but there had been little, if any, extension of the town limits, and Speed's map of Derby in 1610 required but few additions. St. Helen's House bounded the town on the north, the Spot formed the southern limit, whilst cross-wise it extended from the river to the county Prison on Nun's Green. Many local names have disappeared in the town alterations of a century, and

* He left a son, John Raphael Smith, who, as a mezzotint engraver, was no less celebrated than his father. Thomas Smith was a self-taught artist, many of whose landscapes were engraved by Vivares and others. He also used the etching-needle with success.

it would puzzle the present generation to find Cross Lanes, The Twitchell, Dayson's Lane, Cuckold's Alley, Hewitt's Barn, or the Apple Market. The Markeaton brook meandered through the town, crossed by ten narrow bridges, but the stream was not so clear as it appeared to Camden at the close of the Tudor age. The streets were unpaved, and without side-walks, and the rain fell in cascades from the eave-spouts of the houses. Pumps for public use were generally surrounded by a quagmire, and people of cleanly disposition clattered along in pattens, patten-making being one of the town trades. Until 1792 there were no street lamps, and persons moving abroad after nightfall without a lantern were in danger of stumbling over a cart or other obstacle left out for the night. Public performances began early, so as to enable the audience to reach home before the streets became too lonely to be safe; for there were no town watchmen, and cases of street robbery not unfrequently occurred, the thief hastening away into the darkness with impunity.

In this crowded community, various noisome trades and occupations were carried on without restraint, much as they used to be in the Middle Ages. The rain occasionally washed the accumulated refuse down the centre channel of the street to the brook and the river, and this was the extent of the cleansing, for the sanitary arrangements were without any municipal control. Amongst other nuisances, a fellmonger's yard lay beneath the windows of Wesley's chapel in St. Michael's Lane, the stench eventually proving too strong for ardent Methodism, and the members migrated to the outskirts.

By improved means of transit, Derby was now coming more into touch with the outer world. The town thoroughfares were being modernised to suit the fast increasing traffic, and the medieval pack-horse bridge over the Derwent gave place, about 1791, to the present structure. "The Derby Dilly," carrying six insides, was becoming a thing of the past; travellers had begun to trust themselves to the coach roof, and Palmer's coaches* were opening a new era in travelling. Canals, also, were being constructed in all directions, and Derby became connected with the larger "navigations," the terminus being at the old Derwent Wharf. Railways were yet in the distant future, but the "gang-road," which the canal company laid down, and which can still be seen at Little Eaton, may be considered a pioneer of the modern system.

The gentry lived on the fringe of the town, as detached houses beyond the outskirts would have debarred them from attending the concerts and Assemblies in the dark winter evenings. The town was their little world, where they knew the "pedigree" of every one of their own station and of their superiors, and where they dispensed charity, and received the bows and courseys of their dependents. Their speech was provincial; they

* Mr. John Palmer, of Bath, first started mail-coaches for the conveyance of letters, August 2nd, 1784. A curious copper medal or token, rarely met with now, was struck to commemorate the fact, although, by an oversight, it is undated. It is styled a "Mail Coach Halfpenny. Payable in London," and presents a galloping coach-and-four, with its guard, and the motto, "To Trade, expedition; and to Property, protection." On the reverse, "To J. Palmer, Esq., this is inscribed as a token of gratitude for benefits rece'd from the establishment of Mail Coaches.—J. F."



ST. MARY'S FROM THE BRIDGE.

said "Warbro's" for "Werburgh," and "poonsh" for "punch," and spoke their minds loudly and expressively in the street, as their preachers did in the pulpit. They had acquired their education at the Grammar School in St. Peter's Churchyard, where they divided their time between poring over the Latin grammar and writhing under the strokes of the birch. The old school-house still stands, its wainscots scored with the initials of many generations, but its scholars have long since departed; and the rising generation are trained in St. Helen's House, where modern ideas of education are carried out.

Academies, in which a commercial education was given, were on the increase, also the schools where young ladies were taught etiquette, deportment, and the working of samplers, with only a little arithmetic. On one occasion, the secretary of the Assembly sent in her account-book incomplete, with the excuse that such tasks were unsuitable for a lady. Nevertheless, they were proficient with the needle, they could dance a minuet, and sing in the chorus at the musical festivals. Dress and fashion offered an ever-absorbing question, and on great occasions, London experts in hair-dressing came to Derby to construct those high head-dresses, stuffed with wool, which we see in the portraits of the period. For the gentlemen, there was the Philosophical Society, founded by Dr. Darwin in 1783; there was the political club, with an occasional dinner; there were meetings to protest against the slave trade, or to promote town improvements, and one's name might occasionally appear in the list of visitors at Buxton. If a man cared for none of these things, he might

gamble at the races, or at a cockfight, and drink too much wine, and quarrel, and meet his rival at dawn on Nun's Green with pistols and a surgeon.

The artizan population lived in the valley of the Markeaton brook, and in the numerous courts and yards behind the main streets. The silk-mills consisted of close, grimy rooms, in which a man could touch the beams overhead with ease. The stockingers worked at home, often in the top story, where the long windows still exist which enabled them to save candle-light and to evade the window tax. Children were put to work as soon as they could earn twopence a day; they might learn to read and write at a night school or at the Sunday school. Besides being subject to corporal punishment, their labour in the mill was often severe and degrading, for a visitor to the silk-mill in 1772 observed that some of the machines were not worked by water power, but by children, who walked treadmill fashion "in a large wheel similar to that of a common crane; one I observed had an ass and two boys walking in it."

The houses of the working class were small cottages, ill ventilated and ill lighted, the bedroom floors of plaster, bare of carpets. Luxuries were few, and ale was still the national beverage, for brewing was a general industry, the kitchen effects of a gentleman's household generally including ale-making utensils. From a modern point of view, existence among the labouring class appears have to been a bare living, although it is probable that we exaggerate their condition by contrast. When the harvest failed, they were obliged to eat the bad bread, sad and

unpalatable, or go hungry. Tea was entirely beyond the reach of the masses, and was used sparingly even by the gentry. In the advertisements of ladies' seminaries, it was mentioned as an attraction; but the men regarded it as "cat-lap," and preferred something stronger.

Few of the lower orders of that day could read or write; their general knowledge, such as it was, was picked up from mill and town gossip. The workman's ideas on politics were mostly of a local character. If he were a freeman, he resented the fact that elections and their perquisites seldom came his way, and grumbled at the rascality of the Mayor and Corporation; if not, he had hazy notions of reform, which he understood would abolish these local privileges, and also raise wages. The next generation, more capable than their fathers, read Cobbett and the radical pamphleteers, who gave to their political notions a more definite shape.

The *Mercury* had long since enlarged upon the small sheet of its first issue of 1732, yet the local news had not grown in proportion. It was still confined to a column on the last page, being often merely the record of a marriage or a death among the local gentry, the remaining items being drawn from towns as far distant as Manchester or Northampton. Occasionally, some local event of importance would encroach on the space generally occupied by extracts from the London Press, but no great change occurred until the advent of a rival newspaper, the *Reporter*, in 1823, when an "editorial" occasionally appeared. A further

extension of local news took place in 1835, about which time reports of the meetings of the new Town Council and of the borough police-court began to enlighten the people on their own affairs.

During the second half of the eighteenth century, the advertisements, always a growing feature, cover a wide field of information. Quack medicines, including "James's powders," which Goldsmith took to excess, the advent of a new coach or stage wagon, the bill of the play, or a new work on foreign travel or on divinity, mingled with state lotteries and rewards for information concerning a robbery or an incendiary letter. The everyday incidents of town life, too familiar to furnish comment as news, are preserved in these advertisements, reflecting many social traits which have long since disappeared. Instance the advertisement of the umbrella-mender "from London at Mr. Simpson's near the New Inn," to which is added, "Ladies' candle-screens repaired," transporting the reader to the days of silver candlesticks, when snuffers were common, and ladies, sitting close to the light with their embroidery or their volume of Pope or Richardson, used the convenience of a screen between the candle and the face. Other advertisements call to mind the dandy of the period: J. Corbett, hair dresser, announces that he keeps "dress and undress perukes"; and the travelling packman, who showed his wares at the "Wheat-sheaf," praises his "gentlemen's ruffles." Although hackney coaches made their appearance in Derby in 1793, sedan chairs carried ladies to the balls and concerts at the Assembly Rooms well into the nineteenth century, being occasionally seen as late as

the railway era; and in 1826, it is announced that as "ladies who come in chairs" are liable to be upset in the struggle to enter by the great door, they will in future be admitted at the side door in Full Street. The harpsichord still made itself feebly heard, and required to be "tuned, quilled, or feathered"; the tinder-box was destined to remain a familiar domestic article for many years, although as early as 1812, James Sadler, of All Saints' Churchyard, notified that he was sole agent for an elaborate contrivance known as "Gill's Igniter," sold at five shillings a box; and the advertisement in 1815, of Stephen Glover, "stationer and quill-dresser," reminds us that the steel pen was yet unknown to the general public. The modern restaurant was represented by Leek's eating-house in the Corn Market, where "savouries and sweets" could be obtained from eleven to three, the bill of fare including such mysteries as "capillaire and orgeat." The state lotteries, so captivating to many, were announced in lengthy and plausible advertisements, and tickets could be obtained at W. Marriott's, the "Lucky Lottery Office," on Brookside, where a prize of a thousand pounds had once been drawn.

The official advertisements, inserted occasionally by order of the Mayor, still show some traces of the Middle Ages in the town government. The personal authority of his Worship was a reality, asserting itself with a high hand when occasion demanded, although, as a rule, it was used in exercising a paternal control over the town affairs. In his notice that the market will be held on Thursday, instead of on Good Friday, he adds, "which it is hoped will be religiously kept."

The ancient fair of St. James was still proclaimed in the newspaper, and every week appeared the "Assize of bread," commanding the bakers to sell according to a scale appended. The penny loaf varied in weight according to the price of corn and the quality of the flour, and each loaf was to be marked with a distinctive letter, denoting white, wheaten, or household, and the initials of the baker. Evidence still remained, also, of the animosity between the corn merchant and the public, handed down through so many centuries, for in 1818, the Mayor repeated the proclamation forbidding the merchants to "sell corn in corners or secret places before the ringing of the market bell," and a further proclamation ordains that in future a book is to be kept by Thomas Crane at the Town Hall, where all sales are to be reported.

In his dealings with the community, the Mayor's policy was generally conciliatory, the Corporation having private control of the borough properties, from which they distributed gifts of food and coal at Christmas. They also appointed certain officials, both lay and clerical, thus ensuring unanimity in the government, whilst securing the goodwill of the commonalty. In June, 1777, shortly after the contested election in which the Cavendish candidate was unseated on petition, the Duke of Devonshire gave a hundred pounds to be distributed among the poor of the town, but, according to the *Derby Journal*, the authorities, who understood the situation, set aside those who voted for the Tory candidate.

Efforts were occasionally made by the opposition party to improve matters to their advantage, as in

1778, when Mr. Coke, the new member, brought in a bill for "restraining the abuse of honorary burgesses," or fagot-voters, perhaps the outcome of a pamphlet issued the preceding year, entitled, "An Enquiry into the right of admitting persons non-resident to the freedom of the Borough of Derby, dedicated to Members of the True Blue Club, and the rest of the independent freemen of the Borough of Derby." The local grievances respecting the abuse of the town's funds and charities were also occasionally ventilated, but without serious effect until after the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832. In 1778, there was some agitation in the local press concerning the abuse of charities by the Corporation, and as late as 1830, at an inquiry into the appropriation of the Liversage charities, it was decided that they ought not to be used to assist the poor-rates, as had been the case. In 1818, a lengthy correspondence appeared concerning the Siddals, which was leased by the Corporation to Mr. Cox, who, it appears, had refused to permit two burgesses to run a foot-race there.

After the passing of the Reform Bill, nine hundred and ninety burgesses became eligible to vote at the next election, and the local Tories, who formerly shouted so loudly for reform, now became its steady opponents, whilst the freemen were averse to any change that seemed likely to curtail the Mayor's doles of bread, coal, and beer.

The majority of the people in Derby, as in all growing towns, was loudly on the side of municipal and parliamentary reform. The general election in the summer of 1831 returned a Parliament which

passed the Reform Bill by a large majority, but the expectation that the Peers would negative the measure gave rise to much uneasiness. The *Mercury* of October 5th feared that if the Bill were rejected, disorder would ensue; and the interest taken in the measure in Derby was shown by the crowd which assembled in the Corn Market on the evening of Saturday, October 8th, to await the result. The express-rider travelling from London to Manchester delivered a copy of the special edition of the *Sun* newspaper, reporting the rejection of the Bill, about seven o'clock, the result causing general disappointment, and as more people flocked into the town, the temper of the crowd began to cause anxiety. Someone proposed that muffled peals should be rung at All Saints', and a move was made for that purpose; but the church being locked, the crowd went to the residence of the Rev. C. S. Hope in St. Alkmund's Churchyard, where the keys were given to them, and the bells of All Saints', St. Alkmund's, and St. Peter's began mournful peals, which lasted until three o'clock in the morning.

About ten o'clock, the crowd, which now filled the Market Place, began to show signs of active disturbance, and (the civil power being paralysed) nothing was done to check the outbreak, which began with an attack on the shop of Mr. Bemrose, where the anti-reform petition had lain for signature. Here every window was broken with stones, and much damage done to the stock and premises.

The riotous element now needed no incentive to proceed to further disorder. Someone a little bolder than the multitude suggested Mr. Eaton's house, and

the crowd moved off to work fresh mischief. Next they attacked the residence of the Rev. C. S. Hope, smashing windows, destroying the shutters and doors, and tearing down the palisades to furnish themselves with hand-spikes. The houses of Mr. Mozley, Mr. Cox, and others suffered in the same manner. Chaddesden Hall was then named for attack, and a crowd surged out of the town over the narrow wooden structure which spanned the river where Exeter Bridge now stands. Another contingent moved out along the Ashbourne Road to Markeaton Hall, where they inflicted much damage. Here the servants of the house had privately armed themselves, and were only restrained from firing on the rioters by the repeated commands of their master. A third section of the mob was proceeding to sack Kedleston Hall, when a small voice reminded them that cannon were planted there, upon which hint the rioters took discretion as the better part of valour, and desisted from the attack.* Towards dawn, these crowds returned to town, and, their energies being exhausted, gradually dispersed to their homes.

At nine o'clock on Sunday morning, the Mayor and other officials assembled at the Town Hall to discuss the situation, the populace being admitted to the Council Chamber, and the crowd rapidly increased in the Market Place below. The question of maintaining order, however, received no hearing from the mob, who insisted on the release of three of their comrades who had been locked up for rioting during the night. On the Mayor refusing their demand, the riot began again, the crowd

* This small battery is still in existence.

proceeding in the direction of the Borough Gaol (the old County Prison in Friar Gate), where the more daring rioters pulled down a lamp-post, with which they burst open the prison door, and soon effected the release of about twenty-three persons confined there. They then moved on to the new County Prison, where an organised resistance awaited them, for the Governor, Mr. Eaton, had arranged his men on the walls with firearms, and the crowd was warned that they advanced at their peril. They thereupon tried to dislodge the guard with stones, and being fired upon, several rioters were injured, and a young fellow named Garner, a harmless looker-on, was mortally wounded, dying the same evening. At this juncture, Mr. Gisborne, M.P., who happened to be passing through the town, came upon the scene, and attempted to reason with the mob, whose howls and groans prevented him from being heard. Nevertheless, no further attack was made at that time on the prison, and about noon the crowd dispersed, and the town was in comparative quiet for a few hours.

The passions of the rioters were, however, not yet exhausted, and in the evening, about fifteen hundred people again assembled in the Market Place, and decided to make a further attempt on the County Prison; but during the afternoon, a troop of hussars arrived from Nottingham, and, as these soldiers intercepted the line of march, the crowd moved aside towards Little Chester, where they broke in and ransacked Mrs. Harrison's house. Throughout the night, parties of rioters attacked the soldiers, who paraded the streets to prevent re-assembling.

Around All Saints' Church the troops met with much difficulty in dislodging the rioters, who fired on the soldiers and also injured them with stones. One trooper, being struck on the breast, followed his assailant into King Street, where the rioter, attempting to escape down an entry, was shot in the thigh.

On Monday, about noon, the crowd again assembled, and the Mayor attempted to conciliate them by distributing handbills proposing that an address should be sent to the King, stalls being set up in the Market Place to enable the people to sign it. They were, however, in no mood for such mild measures, and the stalls were soon smashed to pieces. The Mayor, fearing a further outbreak, thereupon read the Riot Act, and the cavalry charged the crowd. Unfortunately, in the confusion, a carbine went off, and a man named Hicking was shot, dying in a few minutes.

Strong measures were now taken to ensure the peace being preserved, and special constables patrolled the town throughout Monday and Tuesday nights, whilst the houses showed lights at the windows, for the street lamps had been broken by the rioters. At midnight on Tuesday, two troops of yeomanry arrived from Leicestershire, and all danger of further outbreak disappeared. The authorities now busied themselves in searching for the rioters, several of whom were committed to prison, and order was restored, although the troops remained in the town for some time.

At the Assizes held in March, 1832, a number of persons were tried for complicity in the riots, eleven

(one a woman) being charged with breaking into the Borough Gaol, the trials lasting until one o'clock on Sunday morning, when the Jury found most of them "Not guilty," amid the cheers of a crowded court. Two, however, were sentenced to seven years' transportation for housebreaking and robbery, one, Atchinson, being only seventeen years of age.

In the rejoicings held in August, 1832, to celebrate the passing of the Reform Bill, the freemen did not figure in the procession; the Mayor and Corporation, also, were conspicuous by their absence. Instead of them, there appeared the new tradesmen of the town—the smiths from the various foundries, the bobbinet workers (a trade lately imported from radical Nottingham), and the printers; also the Oddfellows' Society—men who were learning to rely upon thrift rather than charity—and the members of the Mechanics' Institution, which was teaching men to think for themselves.

Early in the next year, the Burgesses' Union began to ask pertinent questions. The Infirmary was built on town land for which £2,600 was paid. What had become of this sum? The Mayor could only reply that five hundred pounds was presented to the Infirmary. The Union pointed out that, previous to the year 1808, the revenues from the town property met the expenditure, but that since then the town rate had risen to upwards of a thousand pounds. They demanded as a remedy that the rate-payers should be represented on the Corporation, that no aldermen should be elected for life, and that the livings of St. Peter's and St. Alkmund's, which were in the gift of the Corporation, should be sold

for the benefit of the town, instead of being given to a nominee of the Corporation.

The end was now at hand. In December, 1833, two Royal Commissioners came to Derby to collect evidence, when several Corporation officials were examined. The government of the town was found to be vested in a few families (one person, it was stated, held no less than sixteen offices), and Glover, the local historian, attempted to prove that several estates belonging to the Grammar School had gone to enrich members of the Corporation. Commissioner Rushton, however, decided that there was nothing to show that the town properties had declined, although his decision was based, somewhat curiously, on the fact that their value had not altered since the year 1652; yet although the local reformers, headed by Glover and Gawthorn, did not entirely convince the Commissioners, enough was proved to satisfy them that the Corporation was out of touch with the community. Two years later, the Municipal Corporations Act was passed, which placed the borough elections in the hands of the ratepayers.

The reform of the Borough Corporation which followed this inquiry was only one of the improvements and changes which resulted, directly or indirectly, from the Reform Bill of 1832. The inquiry of 1833 showed the Grammar School to be in a state of neglect and inefficiency. The Master, the Rev. James Bligh, deposed on examination that he had only one scholar; that since the death of the under-master in 1813, no successor had been appointed, and that there had never been more than four or five scholars during his mastership—a period

of over forty years. Under Manlove, Winter, and Clarkson, the school enjoyed a high reputation, but it had since declined, as the townspeople preferred a commercial education for their sons, whereas the curriculum of the Grammar School was purely classical. A few months after this unpleasant exposure, the Head-master died, being in his seventy-fifth year, and in January, 1835, the Rev. William Fletcher was appointed, and the future training of the pupils was extended to include arithmetic and elementary mathematics.

In 1835 came the first borough election under the new Act, the town being divided into wards for this purpose in October. The freemen made an ineffectual attempt to maintain their privileges by petitioning Parliament, but their day was past, and on December 26th the voting took place, each ward being represented by a booth in the Market Place, and, at the close of the poll, the Radicals and Whigs were found to be in a majority. On January 1st,

1836, Joseph Strutt, Esq., was elected Mayor, and it was at once decided that the official salary of two hundred pounds a year, as well as the customary mayoral dinners, should be discontinued. In the following month the new police force of eight members began its duties, clad in uniforms after the London pattern, although the night watch of ten men was retained for some time. In November, 1837, the number of night police was reported to be inadequate, the constables complaining that they were powerless to lock up offenders, who were frequently rescued by their companions.

Another change was the abolition of the parish

workhouses and the erection of a Union Workhouse in their stead. The new law also required paupers to live in the Union or "Bastile," a change which was regarded as a hardship by many, a petition against the innovation being signed in Derby by about four thousand persons. In 1836, the borough magistrates negotiated with the county on the question of imprisoning felons in the county prison instead of in the borough gaol, the number being greatly reduced, owing to a recent Act, which permitted the borough magistrates to allow bail; and in 1839 official visitors to the private lunatic asylum on Green Hill were appointed by Quarter Sessions.

The most noticeable street improvement of this period was the covering of the brook between St. Peter's Bridge and St. James' Lane, and the erection of the Royal Hotel, with the adjoining Athenæum. In September, 1836, a meeting was held in the Town Hall to discuss the question of purchasing and demolishing the White Lion Inn and part of the Red Lion Inn adjoining, to make room for the new buildings, the estimated cost being ten thousand pounds, to be raised in share capital. The scheme met with approval. The brook was covered at a cost of nine hundred pounds, and the new buildings, which the *Mercury* stated would be "one of the leading architectural ornaments of this borough," were soon commenced.

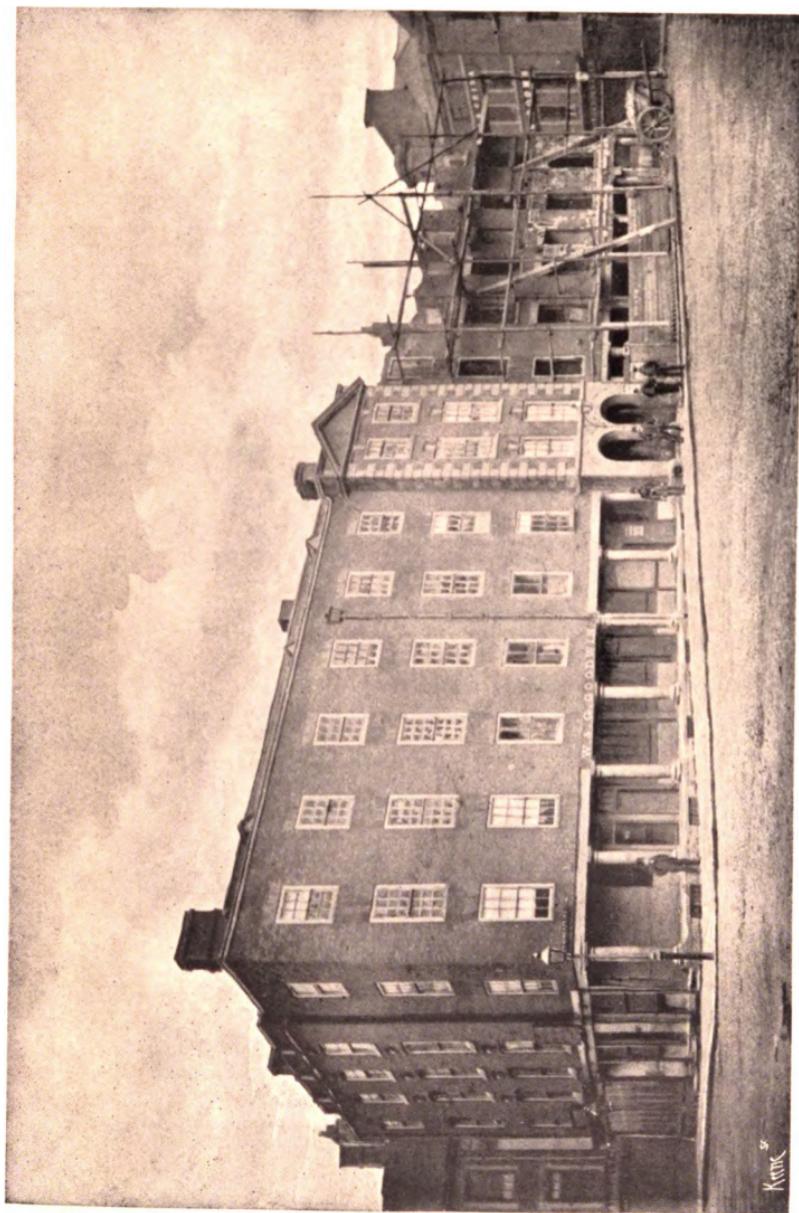
An extension of the town, consequent on the approaching opening of the railway systems, also belongs to this period, an advertisement in February, 1837, announcing that Castle Fields had been laid out as building land, within the boundary formed

by London Road, Traffic Street, Siddals Lane, and Canal Street. In 1832, a place of worship, then known as St. George's Church, was erected as a speculation on the London Road, and after remaining for some time without a purchaser, was bought, in April, 1836, by a committee, the name being changed to Trinity Church, and Mr. Thomas West, of Brighton, in consideration of his donation of a thousand pounds, being constituted the patron for forty years.*

Turning now to the social and educational aspect of Derby life, the *Mercury* shows that during the last decades of the eighteenth century the town was undergoing a progressive change, of which one of the most interesting features was the general taste for music, as shewn in the Musical Festivals which were becoming a regular institution in the town. Concerts in the Assembly Rooms gradually developed into Grand Oratorio, held in St. Peter's and later in All Saints' Churches, at which the chief musical artistes of the day were engaged, and where heavy collections were taken at the doors by members of the county families. In 1792, it was announced that "a performance of sacred music from Handel and other composers would take place in St. Peter's Church on Sunday, August 26th, the choruses to be assisted by kettledrums, trumpets, etc." After the building of the Infirmary, an organised system of raising funds

* Dr. Granville, writing at this period, says:—"The town is emerging all at once from an almost sepulchral lethargy, thanks to the intersecting lines of railroad. . . . I remember when Derby appeared to the traveller one of the dullest county-towns in the heart of England. It is now full of bustle, lively and apparently in the enjoyment of greater wealth, comforts, and even luxury, than it has ever before possessed."

THE PIAZZAS.



for its benefit was instituted, and at the Festival in 1810, a sermon was preached by the Archbishop of Canterbury, when the collection amounted to £354. A new organ was opened in All Saints' Church in 1808, at which Greatorex, a name famous in the Midlands at that period, presiding. Bartleman, Catalani, and other vocalists, noted in their day, but now forgotten, were engaged under the organisation of Mr. Harrison, a substantial balance being generally paid into the Infirmary fund, although the expenses were on a lavish scale.

In the year 1819, the October Festival was unusually brilliant and successful. As early as June, the *Mercury* announced that a three-days' Festival would be held in All Saints' Church, with a concert each evening in the theatre, and a ball in the Assembly Rooms on the last night. In September, it was whispered that a great personage might attend the Festival, and shortly afterwards the public was informed that Prince Leopold was expected. His wife, the Princess Charlotte, the idol of the nation, died two years previously, and he naturally was the object of public sympathy.

For the next few weeks the *Mercury* had numerous advertisements intended to catch the eyes of the ladies, such as: "M. Beeland, top of St. Mary's Gate, has just returned from London with new millinery and dresses for the Musical Festival"; although a slight counterblast appeared in another column, expressing the hope that "large bonnets will be discarded," but with what success does not appear.

On Tuesday, October 6th, the long-expected Festival began, and on Wednesday the *Mercury*

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issued a stop-press edition at five o'clock, informing the public that "Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg is just arrived here, and will honour the Concert with his presence this evening." In the next week's issue, it is explained that the Prince could have been in Derby for the commencement of the Festival, but that he never travelled on a Sunday. Accordingly, on Thursday morning, he and his suite went to All Saints' Church to hear the grand musical selection, and in the evening they attended the ball at the Assembly Rooms, which was a finished success. The town was in high spirits, all the bells were rung, multitudes followed the Prince and his suite, and shouted themselves hoarse, the Prince was affable with everybody, and when he left for Chatsworth, handed a hundred pounds to the Infirmary fund.*

In 1822, a society of a more local character was formed under the title of the Derby Choral Society, the first concert being held at the George Inn. After using the Old Assembly Rooms for a short time, its influence was strong enough to obtain the use of the New Assembly Rooms, where it continued to hold frequent concerts during a number of years.

* At this Festival, among much standard work, the "Chough and Crow," a glee of Bishop's which has stood the test of time, was performed.

Derby evidently enjoyed some notoriety throughout the Midlands on account of these social functions, for four years previously (1815), a Manchester newspaper narrated an incident which "occurred during the last grand music meeting at Derby." On that occasion, the Rev. H——y invited the instrumentalists to dinner at his house in the outskirts, where they gave a selection whilst the table was being prepared. Towards the close of the performance, the reverend gentleman withdrew to fetch the wine from the cellar, returning just in time to hear the closing bars, and to join in the applause. In his enthusiasm he forgot his burden, the bottles fell to the floor, and the wine was lost. Whether there was more in the cellar, the report fails to state.

Another sign of the growing culture of the times was the popularity of the "elegant theatre" opened in Bold Lane in 1773, where names famous in the history of the stage soon began to appear. It was only opened, however, during parts of the year, such as the winter season from Christmas, again through the race week, and at other times for entertainments of varied character. An advertisement announcing the opening for Christmas, 1789, states that "Mr. Pero having been informed a report prevailed the theatre was not well air'd previous to the company's opening, begs leave to assure Ladies and Gentlemen there were good fires in it a fortnight before they arriv'd." The play began at six o'clock, and the prices ranged from three shillings for the boxes to one shilling for the gallery.

The plays then acted by the travelling companies are seldom produced in our day, although considered standard drama a century ago—"George Barnwell," a great favourite for the evening of Shrove Tuesday; "Douglas, or the Noble Shepherd," a tragedy which some critics considered superior to Shakespeare, but which has long faded away. As a superior attraction on one occasion, it was mysteriously announced that the chief character in "Douglas" would be performed by a "person of the town." On another occasion (1806), F. Mundy, Esq., played the part of "Richard III." to an "unusually numerous and fashionable audience," and was so well received that he was encouraged to play "Hamlet" and other standard parts a few weeks later.

The entertainments, also, were varied to suit different tastes and grades. Occasionally, the play

was mixed with singing and dancing, one announcement stating that Mr. and Master Lascelles, from the Opera House, London, would "appear on stilts without the use of their hands." A long advertisement informed the public for several weeks that "Mr. West's pupils will hold a ball at the Theatre, which will be opened by a minuet, to be followed by cotillons in eight, sixteen, and quarter quadrilles. Likewise will be performed Mr. West's improved method of country dances, whereby all the company are in movement at one time, instead of each couple in turn." Tickets to view this juvenile spectacle were "three shillings each, at Mr. West's Academy in St. James' Lane; gallery tickets, two shillings each, to be obtained at the Shakspere tavern, near the Theatre." Country dancing-masters are bluntly told to stay away, as it is not desired they should improve themselves.

During race-week, a London star was generally engaged to draw the county gentry to the theatre, and seldom failed. In August, 1790, the celebrated Mrs. Jordan, from Drury Lane Theatre, on her annual tour down into Yorkshire, was advertised to appear in the "Belle's Stratagem," and "was well received by overflowing houses." In 1805, Stephen Kemble appeared at Derby in the "School for Scandal," also as "Falstaff," and in other parts; only to be eclipsed a few weeks later by the appearance of the "Young Roscius" (Master W. H. W. Betty), aged fourteen, who had recently taken London by storm, and was now touring the provinces in "Hamlet," "Douglas," and tragedy in general. The Derby audience was as much

enamoured of the boy actor as the country generally, for on his return in the following year the prices were raised, the receipts amounting to upwards of a hundred pounds a night.*

Amongst other luminaries who shone at the Derby theatre for one night or more were Mrs. Siddons, who for three nights in September, 1807, played "Lady Macbeth," the title *rôle* being taken by Mr. Manly; Kean, the greatest tragedian since Garrick, who played "Richard III." "Othello," and "Shylock" in 1817 and 1824; Macready, who visited the town on several occasions; T. P. Cooke, always associated with "Black-eyed Susan"; Madame Vestris, the opera singer; Paganini, the inimitable violinist; and Braham, who composed and sang "The Death of Nelson," which made his name famous.†

For many years, the theatre was under the management of Mr. and Mrs. Manly, whose experience of the stage and its connections must have been wide and varied. In April, 1819, it was announced that for Mrs. Manly's benefit would be played the "Castle Spectre," evidently a favourite with Derby audiences, being one of Monk Lewis's melodramas, "full of ghosts, horrors, and thunderstorms," with which our great-grandmothers were wont to harrow their feelings.

In the same year just before Christmas, it was

* At usual prices, the theatre, under Manly's *regime*, held about £90 when well filled. He was an Irishman, and a great favourite in Derby. In 1850 the lessee was Mr. James Faust Saville, a cousin of the late Lady Martin.

† Many years later, Braham, then an old man of eighty, made his last bow to a Derby audience in the Lecture Hall, Wardwick, and sang, with some remains of his former power, "The Death of Nelson" and "Comin' thro' the Rye."

announced that “Mr. Matthews will be found ‘At Home,’ positively for one night only,” when he amused the house with the wit and mimicry of his “Trip to Paris,” with which he was then touring the country. This was a monologue entertainment, in which Matthews excelled, and which he may be said to have invented; his model having been, perhaps, the “Lecture on Heads,” given by George Alexander Stevens, some forty years previous, in Derby.

In an advertisement relating to the theatre in 1789 it is ordered that “carriages are to come down St. Mary’s Gate, and leave towards Sadler Gate, owing to confusion in Bold Lane”; although this inconvenience, due to narrow thoroughfares, was not confined to one quarter of the town. A public notice in the same year orders that, in future, “butchers’ blocks, stalls, wagons, carts, etc., must not be left all night in the Market Place and streets, to the danger of the inhabitants”; and it is stated later that the postboys were in the habit of leaving their empty chaises in the streets, whereby several persons had been hurt. Loaded wagons left in the roadway, being too bulky to pass through inn-archways, must in future have a lantern attached.

In addition to the narrowness of the streets, there were neither public lamps nor watchmen at this time, although in other respects great changes were impending. Subscriptions were being collected for a new bridge over the Derwent, to be followed by new bridges at St. Peter’s Street and Sadler Gate; and in November, 1789, the Mayor laid the first stone of the present St. Mary’s Bridge—an improvement which was the precursor of many others.

Four days later, a meeting held in the Town Hall resolved that the town was "ill-paved, ill-lighted, and dirty," and that amendment was necessary. A committee was thereupon appointed to consider the question, one of its members being Dr. Erasmus Darwin, the grandfather of the famous biologist. Some time, however, elapsed before much could be done, as it was necessary to obtain an Act of Parliament for the sale of part of Nun's Green, to raise funds for these important changes.

A primary consideration was the appointment of night watchmen to patrol the streets, although with only poor results, for their lanterns drew the attention of the evil-minded, the magistrates being obliged to commit several persons for assault; and a month later (February, 1792), five guineas reward was offered for information respecting an attack on the watch, when "large stones were thrown, and one man was dangerously wounded." The *Mercury*, also, does not consider the watch a sufficient improvement, for it observes that "there wants only the streets paved and lighted, without which all other improvements would be like building a palace in the midst of a bog."

This description does not appear to be exaggerated, for a traveller, passing through Derby from Nottingham about 1722, says that "the entrance to the town was so choked up with dirt and mire that it was no small matter of reproach to the inhabitants"; and in 1786, the Mayor, Mr. Flint, issued a public notice that several of the inhabitants were guilty of "shameful neglect" in permitting great quantities

of stable refuse, ashes, and general rubbish "to lay in the streets," and he ordered the removal thereof.

In the autumn of 1792, matters appeared to be moving, for a long advertisement informed the townspeople that the Derby Paving and Lighting Commissioners had been appointed, and were to begin work without delay. Amongst other improvements, "all spouts and gutters were to be taken down, the water to be conveyed from the roofs down the sides of the houses by pipes or trunks," also Full Street, St. Mary's Gate, and Bold Lane were to be paved, the contractor to find all materials "except pebbles." Arrangements having regard to sanitary matters, which had gone on unheeded from the Middle Ages, are also mentioned, and, lastly, came the fixing and lighting of street oil-lamps, in place of the movable lantern of the watchman.

For the next forty years, these feeble glimmers, scattered through the narrow streets, succeeded, as the local press observed later, in "making darkness visible," for the light was only sparingly used. The lamps were lighted during the seven months from September to April, but for eight nights in each month, the townsfolk were left to the precarious light of the moon. Further, the lamps were extinguished at one o'clock, and as the work was done by contract, some of them were often left unlighted.*

It was not until years after the introduction of gas into London and Birmingham, that "the new light"

* An advertisement in 1801 gives the number of street lamps as 240, to be lighted, in the whole, 138 nights in the year, from sunset until midnight, and to be supplied with the best oil and cotton. The contractor to make good all breakage at his own expense.

made its appearance in Derby. Some slight action had been taken on the question, when a strong fillip was given in 1819, by a glowing account from Nottingham, where a number of shopkeepers combined to illuminate their premises on the same evening, the effect, according to the *Mercury*, being so brilliant that "thousands of people walked the streets to see the new lights." A fortnight later, a town's meeting was called at Derby to consider the question, and in a few weeks it was resolved that an Act should be obtained without delay and a company formed.

At length, on Monday, February 19th, 1821, the Market Place was illuminated with gas for the first time, and the eulogium in the *Mercury* points out the great advance that had been made, primitive as the new light might appear to our modern surroundings. "The Market Place," says the report, "was most brilliantly illuminated by a Gas Light placed in the centre, where a beautiful column or, rather, Candelabrum, supported a very handsome lanthorn." Hundreds of people came to express their admiration of the novelty, and the children, we are told, played about in its rays.

It was announced in May following that the Theatre would be "brilliantly illuminated with gas for the first time" to witness the play of "Virginius," yet some years elapsed before gas became the common illuminant in the town. Complaints in the press were general of the feeble light afforded, yet the old oil-lamps did duty until 1831, when it was decided to light one hundred and fifty lamps with gas. After ten years' experience, the system became

improved, although the price was excessive compared with modern standards, being raised from ten to twelve shillings per thousand in 1827.

The sanitary improvement of the town also was slow. In 1808, a public inspector was appointed to report unswept footpaths and unlighted lamps, and to superintend the scavenging generally, and in 1825 it was ordered that the footpaths must be cleaned every other morning. Nevertheless, newspaper critics pointed out that whilst the authorities busied themselves with these trifles, they overlooked the more serious nuisances for which they themselves were responsible. So late as 1833, complaints were made that much of the town filth was allowed to drain into the Markeaton Brook, making it an open sewer, which periodically rose and flooded the adjoining houses, whilst the Corporation, whose property the brook was, did nothing to remedy the evil.

The highways through the town, however, were gradually improved to suit the growing coach-traffic, McAdam, the famous road engineer, reporting most favourably on their condition in 1827. Another improvement was the opening of the new market ground (the site of the present Market Hall) in 1830.

From the beginning of the nineteenth century, the road traffic grew apace; mail-coaches, stage-coaches, post-chaises, and heavy wagons brought a never-ceasing round of business to the inns, where travellers, coming and going, still afforded general interest. Here might be seen all the famous people of the period, from Daniel Lambert, of fifty stone celebrity, who stayed at the George Inn, to

Washington Irving, weather-bound at the Bell Inn, gazing through the coffee-room window, and taking a mental note of the dismal street commonplaces of a wet Sunday, as narrated in his story of the "Stout Gentleman."

In December, 1816, the Grand Duke Nicholas and his suite stayed at the King's Head Inn, where they were joined on the morrow by the Duke of Devonshire, who showed them the lions, including the new Infirmary, the china factory, the spar and marble works, and the view from the tall shot-tower. Great preparations were made for these royal visitors at the "George," the Duke's house; but, by accident or design, they were driven to the rival hostelry, leaving the good things at the Whig house to spoil. The Duke, however, smoothed over the difficulty by presenting the landlady of the "George" with twenty-five guineas and a profusion of regrets.

The passage and billeting of soldiers was still a common feature of the town life. Generally, they were foot regiments, together with a medley of camp followers, but occasionally the streets were enlivened with a troop of horse soldiers—the Enniskilleners, the Hussars, or the Life Guards. Not that their presence was hailed with much delight by the publicans, many of whom, according to the *Mercury*, were on the brink of ruin through the loss entailed by the constant billeting of troops. The *Mercury* asks for "a due share of commiseration for the situation of that much-oppressed description of people, the publicans, many of whose weekly receipts are inadequate to support the vast influx of soldiers

which they lamentably feel the weight of. Humanity and justice alike call for a general extension of a succouring hand towards their relief," otherwise nothing remains to them but "irrecoverable ruin." The military dépôt, erected on Rose Hill in 1805, did something towards remedying this state of things, although it was not until 1813 that an Act was passed, providing that an innkeeper should receive tenpence for a day's billet, for which he must provide the soldier with a hot dinner.*

Besides the regular troops, some of whom made a prolonged stay in the town, there were the local Militia and Volunteers, in whose movements the townspeople took the keenest interest. In May, 1778, during the dreary American War, a grand review of the militia took place, under the inspection of the Duke of Devonshire, at which ten thousand people were present, and seventy carriages containing the county gentry. Some days later, the troops marched out of the town, the Duke at the head of his company, on their way to Cox Heath, in Kent, a fortnight's journey, where, on their arrival, the King was pleased to talk with the officers. After six months' training, the troops returned to Derby late in November, doubtless proud of their white jackets faced with green, which the Duke had presented to them.

Military events became still more stirring with the rise of Bonaparte. In October, 1797, there was the

* The "soldiers' room," at most of the principal inns, was, as late as 1840, a model of discomfort and unwholesomeness. That of the "Bell" was reached from the stable-yard by a flight of stone steps, below which was a large open pigsty. The "King's Head" was as bad; but the New Inn afforded better quarters.

usual bell-ringing for the victory of Camperdown, and, later, a general thanksgiving-day, when the Corporation went in state to All Saints' Church, and afterwards adjourned to dinner at the George Inn. The fear of invasion in the following year stirred the people to take more active measures, and the Corporation subscribed five hundred pounds towards the plan of defence, spent chiefly in strengthening the militia. Nelson's decisive victory of the Nile dispelled the fears of the nation, and the Derby men showed their delight by unhorsing the mail-coach which brought the news, and drawing it triumphantly into the town—not an uncommon display of popular enthusiasm.

After the breaking of the short Peace which followed the Treaty of Amiens, Derby again showed its military zeal and activity. The year 1803 opened inauspiciously, the *Mercury* on February 10th reporting "that the French mails, which had been delayed owing to the late stormy weather in the Channel," now bring news showing Bonaparte's "insatiate and domineering ambition." On May 18th and 19th, the county militia left Derby for Dover Castle, an ominous proceeding, explained in the *Mercury* of the following week by the news that war with France had again broken out, the Royal Declaration occupying three columns of small type. In August, Derby, ambitious to take its share in the national defence, held a town's meeting, and decided to raise and equip a corps of Volunteers, and a month later, six hundred men, who had enrolled themselves, were exercising three times a week. In November, their

uniforms being completed, the corps held a full-dress parade in the Market Place, and marched to All Saints' Church, where the Vicar admonished them to "be strong and of a good courage, fear not, nor be afraid of them."

Meanwhile, a system of conscription was instituted for supplying the militia with recruits, and many men, unable to leave their trade or business, were obliged to purchase substitutes at a heavy cost. The Paymaster of the Derby militia announced that he would "contract with the public for providing substitutes, young men willing to engage to apply at his house on the Burton Road"; and from later notices, it appears that certain young men answered this application, who, after receiving the bounty money, absconded.

During the summer of 1804, the Volunteers of Derby and neighbourhood went into training at various rendezvous, a day's march from home, troops on the march became the order of the day, and for some weeks Derby bore the appearance of a garrison town. The Derby Volunteers marched to Ashbourne, and on their return, the Mayor met them at the entrance to the town, congratulated them on their smart military appearance, and presented each man with a shilling.

During the years 1804-5 the fear of invasion again became imminent, but the measures taken for defence were so active and thorough, that no attempt to land was made by the enemy. The heavy carrying companies—Pickfords and others—offered the services of their horses and wagons to convey the inland troops to the coast without delay, forty

wagons being at the disposal of the Derby Volunteers in case of necessity.

The tension was relieved by the great victory of Trafalgar (October 21st, 1805), where the French fleet was destroyed, and all fear of invasion dispelled. When the news reached Derby, three weeks after the event, a general illumination of the town was arranged, although either to prevent tumult or out of respect for the dead hero, Nelson, all lights were ordered to be extinguished by eleven o'clock. The *Mercury* paid a long tribute of respect to the great admiral, and at his funeral in the following January, minute-bells were tolled whilst his remains were being laid in St. Paul's Cathedral.

The necessity for the Volunteers had now disappeared, yet the war still dragged on for a long eight years, amid bad trade, dear corn, and heavy taxation. The Russian campaign of 1812 at last showed that the star of Napoleon was no longer in the ascendant, and in the following year, Wellington, by his victory at Vittoria, drove the French armies out of Spain. The Telegraph coach brought the news through Derby, having made the journey from London in what was then considered the quick time of fifteen hours. Rejoicings followed in honour of the victory, although they were mild compared with those held in December, five months later, to celebrate the downfall of Napoleon, after the battle of Leipzig, in October, 1813.

The whole town was given up to feasting and drinking, and for one day everybody had sufficient. An ox was roasted in the Corn Market, another in St. Peter's Street, whilst as many as thirty sheep

were roasted in different parts of the town, and bread and ale were without stint. The True Blue Club, always conspicuous on these occasions, roasted an ox (to which Mr. John Wallis, the founder of the Club, added a sheep) in Full Street, and distributed the meat by ticket to two hundred of the poor, with as many shilling (quartern) loaves. The gentry of Derby and neighbourhood dined at the various inns, and a rousing close was given to the festivities by bringing several cannon into the Market Place, where twenty-one rounds were fired off.

In June, 1814, when Napoleon was banished to Elba, and everyone believed that universal peace was restored, there were rejoicings, which even eclipsed the festivities of 1813. Preparations began to be made in the town several weeks beforehand, and on Wednesday, June 14th, the revels started with a ball at the Assembly Rooms, the first dance leading off to the popular military air of the day, "The White Cockade." On Thursday, the general rejoicings began with the usual bell-ringing, the streets being profusely decorated with garlands and arches of flowers, and the churches and principal buildings gaily decked with flags and banners. The townsmen sat down to dine at the numerous inns, the women receiving eighteen pence apiece to dine at home; whilst the children, to the number of four thousand, assembled in the Market Place, where they were feasted on buns and ale.

Friday was reserved for the illuminations, when the gentry and shopkeepers vied with each other in the lavishness of the display. The general features were the transparencies representing King George,

the Duke of Wellington, Britannia, or some emblem of Peace or Victory. These, being illuminated with candles from within, were not subject to the vagaries of the wind, which happened to be high, and which made havoc with the open displays of candles. The County Hall was decorated with a vast quantity of naked lights, which were blown out repeatedly, and it was not until one o'clock in the morning, when the wind dropped, that the spectacle became perfect. Among so much that was worthy of notice, Mr. Joseph Strutt's house at the foot of St. Peter's Street attracted much praise and attention, the rooms being lighted with candles and lustres, the windows filled with orange trees and other greenhouse plants, the word "Peace" in large letters being emblazoned across the front of the house. The *Mercury* devotes two columns of small type to a detailed description of the illuminations, which drew crowds into every quarter of the town, the cost of the rejoicings being estimated at ten thousand pounds.

Mingled, however, with these national festivities were ominous rumblings, showing that continental politics were still unsettled. In November, the militia regiments, on their march homewards after long absence on garrison duty, suddenly received counter orders. The Derby militia, marching from the south coast, reached Banbury, when their route was suddenly changed for Plymouth. Disappointment and dissatisfaction were general, and only the firm action of the officers prevented open mutiny. At the same time, the Cambridge militia passed through Derby on their way home from Ireland, but

returned a few days later, having received counter orders at Loughborough.

The meaning of these movements was understood a few months later, when news arrived that Napoleon had escaped from Elba, and was marching on Paris. For a moment, Europe stood aghast, but no time was lost in meeting the general enemy, and on Sunday, June 18th, 1815, the plains of Waterloo decided the fate of Napoleon without appeal.

The news of this crowning victory appears to have been received with caution in Derby, the *Mercury* of June 29th printing Wellington's famous despatches, but without comment. After the recent empty peace-rejoicings, the townspeople evidently thought it wise to await events. These were not long in developing, for on Saturday, July 8th, the Traveller coach brought the news of the fall of Paris, reaching Derby at six o'clock in the morning, four hours in advance of its time. This news was sufficiently definite, and the True Blue Club forthwith assembled and made preparations to decorate the mail coach on its arrival from London. It was met outside the town, where eight greys were attached, the postillions in blue caps and jackets, the coach decorated with blue flags, laurels, and white lilies, the French tricolour trailing in the dust. In this fashion, it was conducted around the Market Place to the New Inn, amid a tremendous crowd, the soldiers clearing the way, whilst the people cheered, the bells rang out a victorious peal once more, and the tricolour flag was publicly burnt.

Seven months later, the Derby militia returned home, after prolonged absence on garrison duty.

Their last billet was at Burton, and the road from Derby to Littleover was filled with people, anxious to meet their friends and relations. The throng became so great that the local troops, who marched out to meet their comrades, were compelled to make way for them into the town, where they formed a space in the Corn Market, the militia being officially received by the Mayor and Corporation, who had collected a hundred and fifty pounds for their benefit. Four months later, the first anniversary of Waterloo was marked by a dinner held in the Market Place, in which several companies of soldiers passing through the town participated.

For a quarter of a century the nation had maintained its position at an enormous cost in lives and money, yet the dread of invasion or of disaster never affected the national life seriously, or interfered much with its pleasures. During the time of tension in 1803, a writer in the local press attempted to harrow the feelings of his readers with a long jeremiad, painting the horrors of pillage, rapine, and murder, which would cover the land if once Bonaparte and his myrmidons should cross the Channel; but the same issue of the *Mercury* contains the announcement of Derby races, which doubtless proved far more interesting to the general public.

These sports were held for many years on Sinfín Moor, the racing, which lasted two days, being varied with assemblies (dancing booths), concerts, cock-fighting, and all the general surroundings of the race-course. The actual horse-racing did not begin until four o'clock, because the sporting gentry had first

to dine in town, at the King's Head Inn, on Tuesday, and at the George Inn on Wednesday.

When the Duke of Devonshire attended the races, his equipage and retinue were princely, being closely imitated by the rest of the county nobility. In 1813, his Grace appeared in a coach and six, attended by ten outriders; the Earl and Countess of Harrington rivalled the Duke in the magnificence of their appearance; and the county gentry came to town in such numbers that most of the lodgings in Derby were occupied.

The tradespeople naturally benefited by this influx of wealth and fashion, which even attracted talent from a distance. Amongst other announcements, we read that "John Kirkland, from Vickery's, Tavistock Street, London, attends ladies this week and next (race week), to cut and dress hair in superior style, taste, and fashion. At Mr. Sadler's, hair dresser and perfumer, Irongate."

In the year 1803, a change of site for the races became necessary, because Sinsin Moor, following the line of improvement, was being enclosed at the time. It was eventually decided to set out a course on the Siddals, although not without some opposition from the Freemen, who naturally feared their rights were being menaced. The *Mercury* thought it would be a misfortune to abolish such an "antient and most respectable festival," and a Common Hall finally consented to a proposal, which would increase the town revenues; it was agreed also that any Freeman might erect a booth, or stand, free of toll.

The "ordinary," which delayed the races until four o'clock, still continued, for no social function in that

age was complete without a dinner. Thus every loyal gentleman sat down to dine with his friends on the King's birthday; victories by land and sea gave numerous opportunities for feasting, and minor occasions were seldom wanting. The cockfights were often held at the Saracen's Head Inn, at Brailsford, and the sport "betwixt the gentlemen of Notts. and Derby" lasted two days, the stakes being "five guineas a battle, and fifty the odd one," and "a good ordinary each day." A more humanising feature was the annual meeting of gentlemen florists, the forerunner of the modern flower show. "All Gentlemen Florists to dine with the Old Friendly Society of Florists at the house of Sam. Brackley, the Angel, Derby, and to bring your best Auriculas and Polyanthus. Flowers on the table at one. Dinner at two."

The opening of the Assizes also had its customary dinner. In September, 1817, the High Sheriff announces that he "intends to meet his friends at Little Eaton, at half-past eleven, and come into Derby about noon. He will meet the Judges at Osmaston toll-gate at half-past three, and proceed thence to the County Hall. Dinner at the George at five."

In March, 1790, the King recovered from an attack of lunacy, or, as the press politely phrased it, he "was free from complaint." On receipt of the news, the bells were rung, and ale was generously distributed. A dinner was arranged to take place at the Bell Inn, tickets seven-and-sixpence each, with a Ball for the ladies at five shillings each. The advertisement announcing these festivities finished

with the customary "God Save the King," followed by "Honi soit qui mal y pense." Whether there was a hidden sting in this last tag is uncertain, but the next issue of the *Mercury* announced a rival dinner at the King's Head Inn, with an insinuation that all the loyalty in the town did not belong to one party.

In all, three dinners were arranged, and all well attended, although the Tory festivities at the Bell Inn appear to have eclipsed the others. Here, on Tuesday, March 31st, over two hundred gentlemen of the county sat down at three o'clock, under the chairmanship of the Mayor, S. Crompton, Esq., and at seven o'clock the company adjourned to the Market Place, where a bonfire blazed before the Town Hall, and here the Mayor and his friends drank loyal toasts, and distributed barrels of ale among the populace, whilst several sheep were roasted whole for their benefit. The illuminations were spoiled by the rain, which put out the candles, although Mr. Duesbury successfully decorated his house at the china-works, over St. Mary's Bridge, with five hundred small glass lamps, arranged in devices, a practice that still finds favour, and which is said to have been used for the first time in Derby.

In June, 1803, Mr. Coke was elected member for Nottingham, and the Tory party in Derby determined to make rejoicings over his return. He was, therefore, met by Sir Robert Wilmot, the High Sheriff, at Chaddesden, from whence a procession, with flags flying and bands playing, marched into the town, and made a brave spectacle in the Market Place.

To complete the rejoicings, a dinner was held in the Assembly Rooms, to which two hundred gentlemen sat down.

The True Blue Club, a sound Tory organisation, always figured prominently in loyal demonstrations, as well as on special party occasions, such as the above. In 1818, nearly one hundred members sat down to dinner on the anniversary of Trafalgar, and in 1829 they held the annual dinner in honour of the birthday of Pitt, although that statesman had then been dead twenty-three years. A firm belief in "Church and State," mingled with a keen relish for the good things of this life, seems to have been the leading principle of the Club, emphasised in the account of a dinner held in 1828, when we are told that "Non nobis Domine" was sung in excellent style, and the glee, "With a jolly full bottle," was encored. The dark side of life never affected these people long; they were not "philosophers," an epithet applied in their day to radical reformers, such as Dr. Priestley and his followers.

The County Hall, whose walls had echoed the death-sentences of generations of victims, was not regarded with any great amount of awe on that account, for in 1827, it was decided to rebuild the structure, so as to serve the double purpose of a Court of Justice and of a Hall suitable for festivals, balls, dinners, and other entertainments. During the Assizes, little decorum was observed, for a description of the hall in that year shows that it resembled a fair, women moving among the throng vending cakes, fruit, and other edibles, and thieves occasionally practising their craft under the eyes of

the Judge. In 1814, one of these gentry was caught in the act of picking the pocket of a countryman in the County Hall, whilst a case was being tried. He was brought up next morning, when it was proved that he was seen with the pocket-book in his hand, passing it dexterously to a confederate, who escaped with it. He was sentenced to fourteen years' transportation.

The scenes at the gallows on Normanton Road, and, later, at the "new drop" in front of the County Gaol in Friar Gate, brought to a close the interest taken in the Assizes, a feature of these grim functions being the hymn, generally chosen by the condemned, and sung by the crowd, whilst the hangman made his dismal preparations.

Public whippings also still continued. In 1817, Samuel Johnson, for stealing linen off a garden hedge in Dayson Lane, was sentenced to a month's imprisonment and "to be whipped on Friday next, in the Market Place, between twelve and one." Gaol-breaking was not uncommon, either by connivance with friends outside or by bribing the turnkeys. In December, 1786, one McKew, awaiting transportation, broke out of the town gaol, where a loose system of government appears to have favoured him. The gaoler being absent, the duty of making all secure for the night was entrusted to a maid-servant, assisted by two debtors, and McKew, having previously cut through his irons, succeeded in knocking down one of the debtors and seizing the keys, with which he locked the deputy-warders in the yard and escaped.

In March, 1790, two men, Clifford and Johnson,

were sentenced to death for sheep-stealing, on which the *Mercury* oddly remarks that "his Lordship addressed the prisoners in most pathetic language, and informed them they had no reason to expect any mercy." Notwithstanding this gloomy announcement, the sentence was commuted to transportation for life, but the prisoners and their friends do not appear to have appreciated the Judge's leniency, for shortly afterwards, the wall of the County gaol was scaled with ladders, "and the iron gate which leads to the dungeon feloniously broken open." The prisoners, however, were not rescued, and four months later, Jackson and others made a desperate attempt to effect their own escape. Having stripped himself, Jackson descended into the prison sewer, and commenced to break a way through the wall, but the turnkey overhearing the noise, came upon the scene, to find that the prisoners had cut through their irons with a spring saw, whereupon, to prevent further trouble, he chained them together by their necks.

These incidents still afforded matter for gossip even to the cultured portion of the inhabitants. The learned Dr. Johnson, in a letter written from Ashbourne some six years earlier, says: "If you had any knowledge of Ashbourne, I could tell you of two Ashbourne men who, being last week condemned at Derby to be hanged for a robbery, went and hanged themselves in their cell. But this, however it may supply us with talk, is nothing to you."

In reading the lists of culprits sentenced to death, we gain some idea of the severity of the penal code of that day, although public opinion was in advance of the law, and it was usual for the Judge at the

conclusion of the Assizes to commute a number of the death-sentences to terms of transportation, and a few weeks later, the townspeople beheld the spectacle of a coach-load of convicts starting on their long journey to Botany Bay. In May, 1819, nine convicts left the County gaol to be delivered on board a hulk at Sheerness, bearing the more or less appropriate name, *Retribution*. As their coach was changing horses at the Red Lion Inn at Loughborough, the Hope coach dashed by with a similar load from Nottingham. In a moment, the fellow-convicts grasped the situation, and the street resounded with huzzas and the ringing of chains and fetters.

An episode of the same year was the execution of Hannah Bocking, an account interesting as indicating the state of public opinion in Derby at a time when Romilly and his followers were about to bring the penal code more into keeping with the dictates of humanity. This girl had poisoned a fellow-servant with a cake made for the purpose. She was only sixteen, and as no woman had been hanged in Derby for sixty years, the spectacle naturally attracted a great crowd from the surrounding country. According to the *Mercury*, the girl showed the greatest callousness, and persisted in declaring that she was innocent, and that some of her family had committed the deed. She was visited in prison by several ladies, according to the custom of the time, and was with much difficulty induced to confess the truth, the newspaper narrative recalling in several respects the prison scene in "Adam Bede." Her relations begged that the body might be given to them for burial, but the authorities

refused, and it was delivered to the surgeons as usual, the *Mercury* being of opinion that this harsh treatment was right and proper, and that such hardened criminals deserved the severest punishment, only excepting torture.

A letter in the following week's issue, however, appears to reflect the more humane judgment of a growing class in the town. The writer states that being on the outskirts about one o'clock, he was shocked to meet parties of girls and young women, all dressed in their best; as though for a festival, returning from the execution, "laughing and sauntering." So far from the spectacle having any painful or salutary effect on the multitude, he is convinced that the sight only degraded them by satisfying a brutal taste. He advocates the abolition of public executions, although many years elapsed before the abolitionists could gain public attention.*

An incentive to crime in general may be found in the declining trade of this period, particularly among the framework knitters, and in the disturbance of the labour market, caused by the Peace of 1815, after which many of the troops were disbanded, and were unable to find work. Derby was the centre of much discontent and sharp poverty, yet no lawless

* Thirty years later, Charles Dickens witnessed the execution of F. G. Manning and his wife, at Horsemonger Lane Gaol, and addressed two remarkable letters to the *Times*, describing the "scene of horror and demoralization," and declaring his "solemn conviction that nothing that ingenuity could devise could—in the same compass of time—work such ruin as one public execution." Some of the suggestions, conveyed by him in these letters, found embodiment in the Act passed in May, 1868, for legalising executions within the prison walls.

outbreak of consequence occurred in the town itself, owing to several counteracting causes—an organised system of charity, the establishment of special police, and several sharp object-lessons at the County gaol.

The Government, alarmed at the threatening attitude of workmen in the northern manufacturing districts, attempted to quell this state of unrest by treating cases of rioting as High Treason against the Crown. In June, 1817, a number of men in the neighbourhood of Penrich armed themselves, and proceeded to levy blackmail at the houses of the gentry, when a man-servant, offering resistance, was shot dead by the ringleader of the rioters, one Brandreth, "the Nottingham captain." The leaders were soon captured by the yeomanry, and brought to Derby (July 23rd), where a special Commission of Assize was opened with all the ceremony of a State Trial. A number of ignorant rustics were arraigned; but mercy was extended to all except the ringleaders, Brandreth, Ludlam, and Turner, upon whom the customary sentence for High Treason was ordered to take effect, with this variation—that the culprits found guilty, and condemned to die, would be hanged outright, after which the dead bodies were to be beheaded, but not quartered.

This horrible task was performed by a man in a mask (a collier from Denby, it was said), who held up the severed head to the gaze of the crowd, uttering the formula, "Behold the head of the traitor, Jeremiah Brandreth." For a moment, the spectators wavered, as though about to fly from the shocking scene, but curiosity prevailed, and they held

their ground.* On the scaffold lay three rough coffins, each chalked with the name of its owner, and into these the bodies were thrust, and hurriedly conveyed to St. Werburgh's churchyard for burial, the Sheriff's javelin-men forming a cordon around the burying party, to keep back the crowd†.

Of the remainder of the rioters arraigned, nineteen youths were acquitted, three were sentenced to transportation for fourteen years, and eleven were sentenced for life. Seventeen years later (1834), the Government granted pardons to the ten survivors.

It is now generally accepted that these men were inveigled into crime by the spy, Oliver; although the *Mercury* assured its readers at the time that no such person existed. The Government, fearing an

* The late Mr. Edward Hollingshead, a well-known Derby confectioner, who was an eye-witness of the execution, told the present writer that the fall of the axe upon Brandreth's neck was the signal for heartrending screams, and a cry was raised, "The soldiers are upon us!"—for it was reported that the military had received orders to charge the crowd, and cut down all before them, upon the first signs of disapproval; and the mob, in direful expectation, swayed to and fro, throwing down and trampling upon the weaker ones. Two or more blows were struck before the head was severed, and even then the decapitation had to be completed by the aid of an amputating knife. It is rather remarkable that no looker-on has recorded the decapitation of Ludlam and Turner; the fact being, that the first horror of the situation deprived people of the power of observation, and the concluding butchery passed unnoticed. The popular dread of military violence is noticed by every other witness of the execution with whom the writer has conversed upon the subject.

† A sequel to this grim episode, was the ghost which flitted on dark nights from gravestone to gravestone, carrying its head under its arm. The footpath across the churchyard became deserted by all but the bravest after nightfall, until some one, bolder than the rest, solved the mystery by bringing down the ghost with a stone. It was Pegg the barber, from across the way, who with a sheet and the wig-block from his window, contrived to frighten his neighbours for his own amusement, of which the loss of an eye served as a reminder for the rest of his days.

insurrection, adopted the questionable expedient of permitting this man to ensnare victims, who might thus be punished to overawe the disaffected multitude.

Owing to the discontent in this neighbourhood, unusual measures were taken to prevent any outbreak in Derby, thirteen extra night-constables being employed throughout this year at a cost of about five hundred pounds. In the previous year (1816), a large amount was raised to provide food for the unemployed, and labour was found for a number of men at a gravel-pit on Nun's Green, whilst it was proposed to employ others in cutting down the hills on the high roads in the neighbourhood.

The workmen of the manufacturing centres were agitating for a repeal of the old Combination Laws, which forbade workmen to form Trades Unions, a labour movement which the masters strenuously opposed. The Grand Jury, at the Derby Assizes of 1819, also expressed its disapproval of combination, and advised the people to keep the peace; but the tension was temporarily reduced in 1825, when these laws were repealed, and Trades Unions soon began to appear. In the same year, the result of a condition of declining trade was shown in the many bank-failures throughout the country, causing a panic which threatened general ruin; but the High Sheriff, with the gentry of Derby and neighbourhood, succeeded in maintaining local credit by proclaiming that they would accept the notes of any bank in the district.

Distress among the artisan class naturally increased

during this period, and the system of doles was again revived. A sum of seven hundred pounds, the balance of the fund raised in 1816, was utilised, providing soup temporarily for sixteen hundred applicants, until the fund was enlarged by heavy collections made in all the parish churches. Declining trade and falling wages engendered agitation, which at length culminated in the great strike of 1833, resulting in loss to the workpeople and to the town generally.

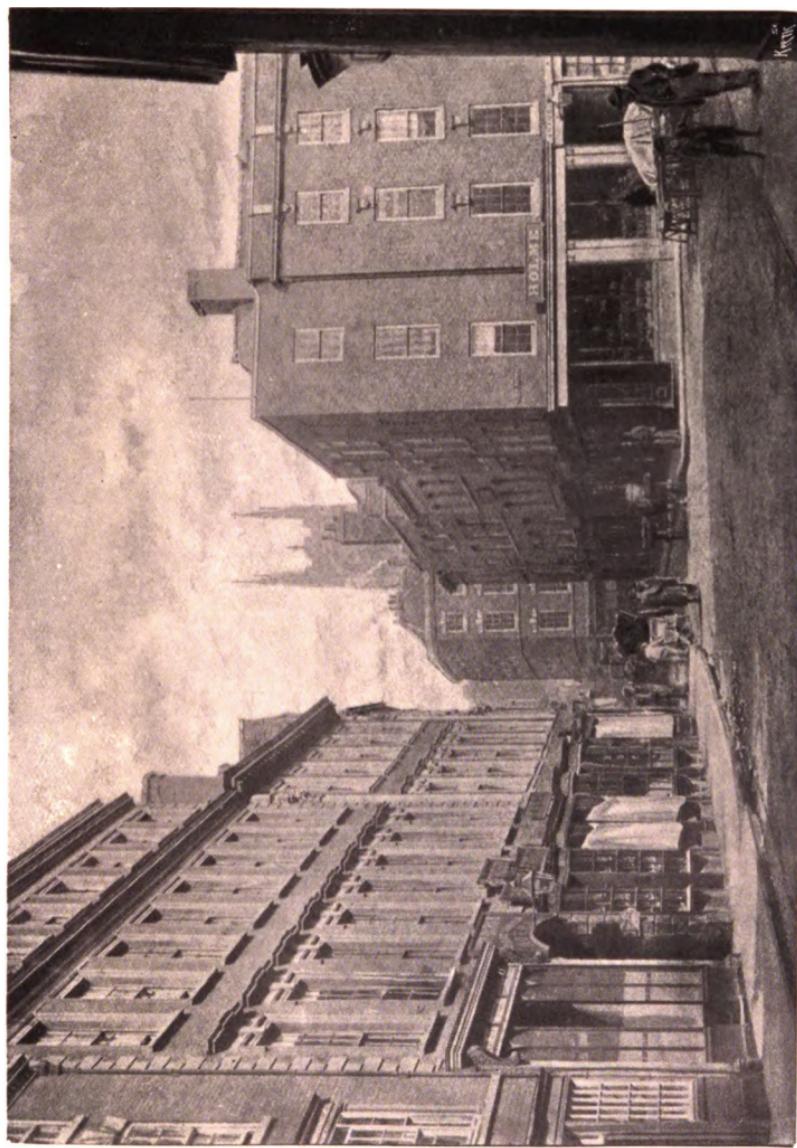
The gifts and subscriptions raised by the wealthy show that, amid the Assemblies, festivals, and general gaiety, they did not forget the less fortunate majority among whom they lived. There were also societies whose aims were rather philanthropic than local, such as the suppression of the slave trade and the spread of education among the masses. One of them, whose object has long since passed away, was that "for ameliorating the condition of the infant chimney-sweepers." In 1815, a notice in the local press informed the public that several ladies and gentlemen of the town had purchased "one of the sweeping machines" (the common sweep's-brush of to-day), and entrusted it to one Roberts, a master chimney-sweep, who assisted the cause of the society by refusing to employ the climbing boys to sweep his chimneys, and the public were asked to employ Roberts, and thus assist the movement. The boy sweep, however, did not disappear until many years later, although the society continued its efforts, and helped to lighten his hardships in many ways; thus in 1825, the climbing boys, under its patronage, attended service in All Saints' Church, after which

they sat down to dine off roast beef and plum pudding.

In 1838, the society thought to advance their cause by supplying each master-sweep with a machine free of charge, but the London secretary warned them that this experiment had proved a failure in other towns, as the master sweeps were averse to the abolition of the climbing boys, which only an Act of Parliament could effect. The masters, on the other hand, complained that many old chimneys were crooked, or otherwise unsuitable for the brush, a case being cited of a flue in a house in Friar Gate, which ran in a horizontal direction for thirty-four feet, wherein a few years previous a boy was wedged, and it was necessary to break through the wall to release him.

The society showed by abundant evidence that the masters were careless and often cruel in their employment of the children, fatal accidents being not uncommon. In May, 1838, a boy aged eleven was suffocated in the chimney of a house in Siddals Lane, and it appeared, from the evidence given at the inquest, that the fire had not been completely extinguished, and the fumes had overcome him. His master, hearing no sound, broke through the wall, but it was too late, the child was dead. The affair being regarded as an accident, no one was censured, and no remedy suggested.

Occasionally, the society had cause to be pleased with their efforts. In December, 1838, a boy-sweep from Wirksworth sought out some members of the society, and complaining that he disliked his trade, begged their protection. They fed and clothed



THE ROTHERHITHE ROW.

him, and next morning found him employment at Bridgett's mill; but an hour or so later, his master appeared, having traced him to the mill, and, producing his indentures, claimed him as a runaway apprentice. The boy's sympathisers then hid him from his master whilst the matter was inquired into, when the indentures were found to contain a technical flaw, and the master was compelled to retrace his steps empty-handed.

Besides assisting in these social and philanthropic movements, the presence of the gentry encouraged various artistic trades and professions in the town. Mr. Joseph Wright executed much portrait-painting, many of his sitters coming to Derby from the surrounding district; and in 1818, Mr. Barber, portrait painter, announced that he had removed from Nottingham to the house lately occupied by Anthony Strutt, Esq., in Friar Gate; whilst for miniatures, there was the deaf and dumb painter at Grayson's, in the Corn Market, and other artists.

The attractions of Buxton and Matlock were imitated at the spas of Quarndon and Kedleston, the latter owing its position to the sulphurous springs, and perhaps, also, to the Curzon family, who patronised the archery meetings held at Kedleston in the summer months. The traffic between Derby and this fashionable district was sufficient, in 1779, to warrant the experiment of a daily coach-service, qualified with the proviso that it would run "if there be four passengers." Among others who benefited by drinking the Kedleston water was Admiral Rodney, in 1787, five years after his great victory in the West Indies, when the bells in Derby

were rung, an inn being named after him which is still remembered in "Rodney Yard."

The baths at the Infirmary, intended to be select, evidently belonged to an age when scrupulous cleanliness of the person was generally considered a fad. The bather paid two shillings, for which he had the choice of two public baths, each of the narrow dimension of thirteen feet square, one being maintained at the temperature of the Buxton waters. The ablutions of the lower orders were restricted to bathing in the Derwent in the summer time, and as late as 1831, when there was a dread of cholera, the authorities considered it sufficient to advise the people "to wash their hands and faces twice a day."

The Established Church took an active interest in the life of the people, yet a lack of religious zeal still characterised its pulpits, most of the church livings being in the gift of the Corporation, who appointed one person to the three cures. The pews were the freehold property of the wealthy portion of the congregation, and were sometimes sold along with their houses. In 1786, a dwelling-house on Brookside was advertised for sale, together with "a handsome pew in the church." When the owners migrated to another church, their old pew was let at a rental, but in 1830, the Bishop condemned this practice as illegal. Four years earlier, a free church (St. John's) was founded as a chapel of ease to St. Werburgh's; and the Church generally was beginning to bestir itself, for although it might possess wealth and influence, the Nonconformists had shown that they possessed the energy to grow and to become powerful.

In the preceding century, as already narrated, Wesley succeeded in establishing a community in the town, among whom he preached on several occasions. In the summer of 1790, the *Mercury* announced that "The Rev. John Wesley intends preaching at his meeting-house in St. Michael's Lane on Friday next." In 1818, his followers removed to a chapel in King Street, where the first anniversary sermons were preached by the Rev. Jabez Bunting, a shining light among the Methodists of that day, on which occasion it was stated that "the two front rows in the gallery will be reserved for the ladies."

The Primitive Methodists, seceders from the older body founded by Wesley, formed a society in Derby in 1815, chiefly through the efforts of Sarah Kirkland, the daughter of a farmer at Mugginton. In 1811, she came under the influence of Hugh Bourne, and shortly afterwards, when about twenty years of age, began to hold forth in public. In March, 1815, being at Chaddesden, three persons from Derby, impressed with her powers, begged her to return with them to town and preach in the open air. Her modesty forbade this, but her admirers engaging to find a room, she accompanied them, and preached at the house of one Clayton, a barber, the room being crowded with hearers. A society was shortly afterwards formed, and here they continued to meet for about two years, until a small low-ceiled building was erected in Albion Street, near Bag Lane, where for a number of years the members held their meetings and love-feasts—the scenes of

those fervid conversions which earned them the name of "Ranters."^{*}

The erection of a Congregational or Independent Chapel on Brookside in 1783, followed the religious controversy led by Dr. Priestley about 1770, about which time the congregation at the Meeting House in Friar Gate declared itself Unitarian, and some of its members seceded. The Calvinistic Baptists—the remaining section of the Puritan party—are mentioned as forming a community in Agard Street about 1700; the first chapel of the General Baptists in Brook Street only dates from the year 1802. The Roman Catholics emerging from obscurity, built their first place of worship in Chapel Street in 1813, where it may still be seen, its windows protected by a high wall from the stones of the sometime over-zealous Protestant. The Quakers held no assemblies in Derby until 1800, the more fervent among them, such as Pegg, the china-painter, undertaking a Sunday morning journey of some nine miles to Codnor Breach, the nearest meeting-house. In that year, they began to meet in Derby in a disused mill, and in 1808 they erected the meeting-house in St. Helen's Street.

With the growth of trade and wealth, the humble structures of these early organisations made way for

* In March, 1818, John Harrison, a young enthusiast, preached in this chapel, drawing so terrible a picture of "death and the judgment" that "many persecutors" interrupted him with their remonstrances, when he replied with increased vigour and silenced them. In the following year, he conducted a lovefeast here, preaching with such earnestness that there was "scarcely a dry cheek."

† In Simpson's *Walk through Derby*, 1827, a woodcut of this chapel shows it surrounded by a light palisade. The wall in question was erected after the migration of the congregation to St. Mary's in 1839-40.

more artistic buildings. The old Brookside chapel disappeared before an edifice which is a feature in Victoria Street; the Baptists, also, have added to the architectural beauty of the town. The Roman Catholics long since migrated to the church which ranks among the finest efforts of Pugin; and the Established Church, awakening from its lethargy, rebuilt the old structures of St. Alkmund's and St. Michael's, and has since extended its usefulness by erecting new churches in every suburb. The old Calvinistic Chapel in Friar Gate still remains, and the Quakers retain their original building, the unpretentious meeting-house reminding us in its unadorned simplicity of the characteristics of its members.

Nonconformity laboured under many disabilities, and consequently showed a greater zeal for toleration than the Established Church. In 1813, a meeting of the clergy of Derby and neighbourhood took place at the King's Head Inn to resist the movement in favour of repealing the disabilities of the Roman Catholics, which the Nonconformists of the town assisted. Again, in 1831, an agitation arose among the members of the Derby Bible Society to exclude the Unitarians, which the Baptists and Independents again resisted; and the local agitation against the old Corporation, prior to 1835, proceeded to some extent upon the lines of Church *versus* Dissent.

The artisan class worked long hours, and the time for sports and amusements was necessarily limited; ale-drinking, as has been shown, forming the staple enjoyment on every occasion. As early as 1786, the Mayor complained that "apprentices are permitted

to play cards, dice, billiards, skittles, and other kinds of gambling," in the public-houses, tippling, apparently, not being regarded as a vice. Among the Nonconformists, during the early part of the nineteenth century, tea-drinking began to be substituted for the old-fashioned church-ales. Temperance, or "tee-total" societies, as they were called, marched through the town at their annual gatherings, and boasted of the number of reformed drunkards who handed round the tea-cups at the tables. In March, 1835, two hundred and sixty persons sat down to tea in the Old Assembly Rooms, when it is mentioned as a novelty that the room was lighted with gas. Another sign of this improvement occurred in 1832, when, at the rejoicings over the passing of the Reform Bill, a large section of the community refused to dine at the public-houses, and were regaled elsewhere.

Advertisements from time to time announce entertainments which attracted crowds of sightseers. T. Johnson, confectioner in Irongate, annually exhibited his show of Twelfth Day cakes, with a glittering spectacle of moving figures for the benefit of the juveniles.* Another attraction was Spink's Spar Manufactory, in King Street, in 1811, when it was announced that the "Ingenious Grotto is now opened." Equestrian troops, mountebanks, and other wonders still came to town at fair-time, or in the intervals between these holidays; Breslaw's Variety Entertainment from London; Madame

* This pretty exhibition was continued by Johnson's successor, E. Hollingshead, until after the commencement of railways. Some old Derby folks may yet remember the lively scene of trains meeting as they passed in and out of a tunnel.

Tussaud's Exhibition, with nearly a hundred figures ; and, later, Wombwell's Menagerie, having "the largest elephant-wagon ever built, with six roller wheels and twelve horses." In December, 1786, a display of fireworks was advertised to be exhibited in the Market Place, a collection to be made among the spectators at half-time. The proprietor also announced that his wares could be purchased at his lodgings, "at Mrs. Fox's, in the Morledge." A few weeks later, a rough practical joker threw into Brookside Chapel some crackers, serpents, etc., disturbing the service.

The obituary notices of the *Mercury* occasionally mention persons who, by ability or some eccentricity, helped to weave the varied life of Georgian Derby. There was Mr. Yates, the whitesmith, who died in 1778, and whose hammer-work at All Saints' Church was destined to live after him ; William Clarke, who died in 1788, chief clerk at the China Factory ; also John Yates, of the Seven Stars Inn, King Street, who was an artist at the same factory for over fifty years, and who died in 1821. A man who had seen something of the world was Anthony Russell, who came to Derby as a French prisoner of war in 1759, returned to France in 1763, but eventually found his way back to Derby, drawn by the strongest of reasons, where he married the lady concerned, and settled for life. Another traveller was William Smith, who made his weekly journey between Derby and Sheffield for thirty years, distributing the *Mercury*. Among remarkable characters was John Hallam, who had original ideas of life, who lived alone, and took only one meal a day, and who, being

a man of educated mind, could entertain his company by reciting Young's "Night Thoughts." He lived to be eighty-six years of age, dying in 1828.*

One of the greatest changes of this period was the growth of a system of education in the town, first in the infant-schools, and, later, in the lectures delivered by scientific persons at the new Mechanics' Institution, to young people; for, in the early years of the reign of George III. no organisation of this kind existed. Besides the Grammar School, a few private academies dispensed a fairly liberal education to the sons of tradespeople. In 1789, Mr. Freer informed the public that he "is giving up school in St. Peter's Parish, and recommends his successor, Mr. Matthew Spencer, who has been his assistant for many years." Mr. Spencer (the grandfather of the late Mr. Herbert Spencer) informed the public, a twelvemonth later, that "his school is in the Green Lane, where he instructs youths in Reading, Writing, Merchants' Accompts, Mensuration (with land-surveying), Algebra, etc., etc.," and that "he can accommodate a few gentlemen at his house," the terms being one guinea entrance, and thirteen guineas per annum for board and education.

A boarding-school for young ladies was announced

* Among remarkable instances of longevity, it is recorded in 1838, that the Wirksworth carrier brought eight old people to Derby to give evidence at the Spring Assizes, whose united ages amounted to 628 years. In March, 1833, died Ellen Haywood in St. Werburgh's parish, aged 106 years, who remembered the rebels coming to Derby in 1745, being then "nineteen years of age and in service." She was seven years old when "Widow Thorp" died in St. Peter's parish, aged 103 years, as recorded in the *Mercury* in 1734. As a girl, this person might have seen King Charles I. when he passed through Derby in 1642.

to open on October 1st, 1792, in All Saints' Church-yard, where the teaching of the English language seems to have been the only mental education offered, the rest of the time being devoted to plain sewing, muslin-work and embroidery. Board, including tea and sugar, was at the same charges as at the school in Green Lane, although there was an extra of half-a-guinea per quarter for the laundry, and "each lady was to bring a pair of sheets and four towels."

For the children of the artisan class there were a few schools, in which persons able to read and write imparted knowledge at their own homes. One John Pratt opened such a school in Bridge Gate on Monday, January 12th, 1789, for instruction of youth in reading, writing, and arithmetic. He also added a night-school, at which youths paid three-pence per week to learn writing and arithmetic, whilst those of less ambitious mood might learn reading for the weekly sum of twopence.

Early in the following century, Lancaster, the Quaker, instituted his system of non-sectarian schools, to be quickly followed by a rival method, organised by the Church party under the scheme of Dr. Bell. In 1810, Lancaster lectured on his system in Derby, although little followed until two years later, when, in March, 1812, the clergy of the town requested the Mayor to call a meeting to discuss the question of establishing a school on Dr. Bell's system. The Nonconformists, in the following month, formed a society to work on Lancaster's plan, and at once furnished a room in Full Street, and engaged a master; the schoolhouse, still in existence as a

warehouse, offering a strong contrast to the public educational centres of to-day. In the following November, the town was visited by both Bell and Lancaster, who lectured on their rival systems on the same evening. The National society established their school in Bridge Street, which, in June, 1817, was unfortunately burnt out, along with the mill of which it formed part. The society, however, at once arranged to increase their subscriptions to remedy the loss incurred, and to open a school elsewhere. In the seventh annual report of the Lancasterian school (May, 1819), it appears that some gentry of the neighbourhood, headed by the Strutt family, acted as patrons, and that the scholars numbered two hundred and thirty-three, each one paying a fee of sixpence a quarter.

Numerous advertisements at this period, respecting academies and middle-class schools, show that education was generally extending, several schools being situated at Quarndon, probably on account of its healthy character.

During the next decade, a further impetus was given to the cause of education by the establishment of a Mechanics' Institution, where lectures, covering a wide range in the arts and sciences, as then known, were delivered in the winter months of each year, beginning with 1825. Others were delivered in the Lancasterian school, the audience numbering from two hundred to four hundred. The practice was generally appreciated, for in 1828, the grocers in the town agreed to close at eight o'clock, to enable their assistants and apprentices to attend the lectures. The old Philosophical Society had

made an attempt, in 1815, to increase its membership by reducing the fee, and occasionally scientific lectures were given, as in 1806, when the theatre was utilised, but it was not until Lord Brougham inaugurated the system in London, that it became general.

One result of this spread of education was the establishment of circulating libraries and the growth of the local press. Until the year 1823, the *Mercury* was the only newspaper in Derby, although in its early years, a rival, under the name of the *Derby Journal*, enlightened the public on many of the town grievances, which the *Mercury* ignored. The *Journal*, however, became defunct, and for many years the *Mercury* held the field alone, its volumes forming an invaluable chronicle, although they omit much in the social life of the people which would have interested posterity. The progressive party obtained little notice, for all political changes were regarded as dangerous, such agitators as Cobbett, Orator Hunt, and his Manchester supporters being denounced as "radical maniacs."

In 1823, the *Reporter*, published by Mr. Walter Pike, was established as the organ of the Reform party for Derby and Chesterfield, the price, like that of the *Mercury*, being sevenpence. In 1839, the average weekly sale of the *Mercury* was 1,296, and of the *Reporter* 1,086, although, as each copy had its round of readers in those days of costly newspapers, these figures afford but a slight index of the actual circulation.

After the establishment of the *Reporter*, leading articles began to appear, which were often confined

to a string of personalities and abuse of the rival newspaper; for until 1832 it was dangerous to criticise the policy of the Government, who might ruin any newspaper with a libel action.

The Stamp Duty, also, raised the price of the newspaper to a prohibitive figure for the working man, and for many years, the agitation for its repeal was maintained, many persons being imprisoned for selling unstamped newspapers. In April, 1835, Henry Robinson, of Derby, was fined the sum of twenty pounds for this offence, and, being unable to pay, was sent to prison for six months, although he was soon released by order of the Home Secretary.

The Reading-room, in the Market Place, in 1836, contained, besides the Derby newspapers, the London *Sun*, *Standard*, *Morning Advertiser*, *Examiner*, and *John Bull*, and the local newspapers from surrounding towns, including Manchester and Hull.

A growing taste for the beautiful in architecture is indicated in the public buildings which date from this period—St. John's, opened 1828; the Athenæum and the Roman Catholic Church, 1839; and Christ Church, 1840. The Lecture Hall at the Mechanics' Institution, built in 1837, soon became useful, an exhibition there, in 1839, including specimens of the fine arts, paintings, mechanical, optical, and mathematical apparatus, objects in natural history, and antiquities.* In February, 1836,

* This was the first Exhibition of such objects as are here indicated ever brought together in England, and it may not unreasonably be looked upon as the parent of the Great Exhibition held in 1851 in Hyde Park. The Strutts contributed largely to the collection, and many of Mr. Joseph Strutt's pictures then shown still adorn the walls of the Lecture Hall, as his gift to the Institution.

Mr. McSwiney, the master at the Lancasterian School, left Derby for a scholastic post in the Bahamas, when he was presented with philosophical instruments to the value of thirty-six pounds.

The advent of the Victorian era brought the railway system, with all its political and social changes. The new engineering works gave a higher and steadier rate of wages than the declining trades of silk-throwing and stocking-weaving, and of these changes, Derby reaped the full advantage. The new means of transit grew at once into favour, and for some months after the opening of the railway from Derby to Nottingham, everybody was paying exchange visits; just as, a few years later, thousands were exploring the beauties of Matlock, Haddon, and Chatsworth.

An interesting feature in the town's history, which emphasised the beginning of this new era, was the opening, on September 16th, 1840, of the Arboretum, presented to the town by Mr. Joseph Strutt, who showed the kindly feeling he entertained towards the people of Derby in his speech on that occasion. "As the sun has shone brightly on me through life," he said, "it would be ungrateful in me not to employ a portion of the fortune I possess, in promoting the welfare of those among whom I live, and by whose industry I have been aided in its acquisition."

CHAPTER V. SOCIAL LIFE.

AUTHORITIES :—“*Lichfield Diocesan History*,” Beresford—*Itinerary, Edward I.*, Gough—“*Historical MSS. Commission*,” Appendix to *Third Report*—“*Dictionary of National Biography*”—“*Life of Wright*,” Bemrose—“*Hutton's Autobiography*.”



On a September day in the year 1279, a party of horsemen entered Derby by the Burton Road, their general appearance denoting the monastic brotherhood, whilst their long black cloaks, their hoods of lambs' wool, and their red hose, distinguished them as Cluniacs. Three Priors rode at the head of the party—one a stranger from France, travelling through the country, inspecting and reporting on each of the priories of his order; the other two, acting as guides and advisers, were Priors of English houses. They had journeyed along the Roman way from Wenlock Abbey, in Shropshire, where they found matters in a worldly and unsatisfactory state, and were now on their way to visit the Priory of St. James in Derby, before proceeding to

Lenton Priory, near Nottingham. Such a party, clattering through the narrow streets, and conversing loudly in Latin or Norman-French, was a common sight to the inhabitants of old Derby, giving the sort of life and colour to the town which in our day would have a strange effect.

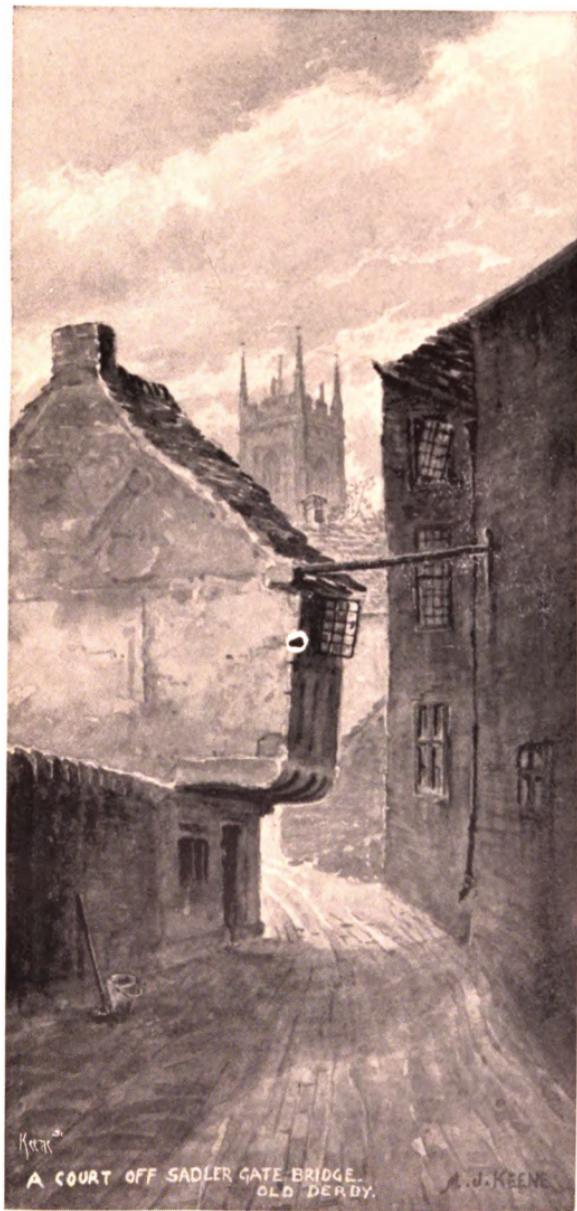
The Religious Orders formed a large part of the community in the Middle Ages; the clergy, secular and regular, were constantly travelling on the business of their houses, and Derby, during the summer months, saw much of them. The rich abbey at Darley afforded lodging to these travellers, for hospitality was one of the humanising agencies of the time. The intercourse between Darley Abbey and the Cathedral authorities at Coventry was very close and friendly, and in the reign of Henry III., when the King wished to lay hands on several of the clergy of Coventry for disobeying his commands, they were hurried away to Darley Abbey, where they were safely hidden until the storm blew over.

The regular visitations of the more energetic of the bishops of those days often brought a large concourse of clergy together at Derby. In 1307, Walter de Langton, Bishop of Lichfield, held services at which 93 sub-deacons, 69 deacons, and 116 priests were ordained. In 1310, the Black Friars held a General Assembly at Derby, when they solicited the prayers of the King, from whose father they had received many favours. On this occasion, the Derby people would witness the spectacle of a concourse of Friars mounted on asses or mules, for although their rules forbade them to ride on

horseback, they were not disallowed the use of the humbler animals.

The royal progresses of those days were memorable events, whether made by the King personally, with his officers and retinue, or whether he travelled with his Queen and court, when the procession moved with its vanguard of four-and-twenty archers in the royal livery, carrying their long-bows, and followed by tilted wagons, emblazoned with gold and rich colours, yet lacking springs. The monastic houses were, on such occasions, the hostels for such royal and noble guests, and Darley, as the itinerary of Edward I. shows, was no exception to this rule. Several of the Plantagenet monarchs thus passed through Derby, although no details exist, except of the visits of this energetic sovereign, who may almost be said to have died in the saddle. In 1291, he travelled from Repton to Darley Abbey, where he stayed on Friday, March 23rd, passing on to Belper on Saturday; and in 1292, he came from Duffield to Darley Abbey on Sunday, February 22nd, where he lodged for the night, leaving for Garendon Abbey, across Trent.

The periodical visits of the Judge of Assize afforded occasions for the local gentry to journey to the county town to do homage to the representative of the Crown. The tradespeople, and the town generally, profited by this influx of wealthy people, and the Town Clerk of 1610 voiced the public discontent (on the Assizes being temporarily removed to Ashbourne, because of an election battle which had occurred in the streets of Derby), when he says: "It was Judge Forster's pleasure so to use the town."



AN OLD COURT,
Off Sadler Gate Bridge.

The account-book of John Rhodes, of Barlborough, High Sheriff in 1591, gives an insight into the feasting and drinking which these visits occasioned. The Assizes occupied two days in August, although the festivities lasted a week. Provisions for the Sheriff's table were brought from his country residence, including ale, flour, a fat ox, a tierce of claret, and poultry; also twenty score of loaves for his yeomen's table, with malt for their ale, which was apparently brewed in Derby. This country fare required to be supplemented by luxuries purchased in the town—white wine and sack. The judges were presented with a fat buck, a fat lamb, and five couple of rabbits, the provision bill for the week amounting to upwards of seventy-six pounds, a sum which represents only a portion of the total cost of the display, when we consider the charges, for dress and retinue, which the occasion demanded.

These visits of the county gentry to Derby, when each family brought its crowd of servants, partly for convenience, and partly for display, did not always conduce to the peace of the borough, and the picture which Shakespear has drawn of the rivalries of the Montagues and Capulets, when the servants took sides with their masters, was capable of extended application. The town scribe records in 1576, that "Sir John Zouch and Sir Thomas Stanhope assembled great numbers of persons who would have fought in the streets of Derby, but the town's bell was rung, calling the burgesses together," so that the fight was prevented. The election quarrel of 1610 was a more serious affair, in which Peter Manser, coachman to Mr. Gresley, was killed, being

stabbed in the back; "slaine," says the register of All Saints', "in an ungodlie fight."* The townspeople were summoned as usual, by the ringing of the bell; but this time it seems that they took sides in the fighting, instead of preventing it, for after the affair the town was in a state of ferment, and the Assizes were consequently removed to Ashbourne, where five persons were indicted for the murder of Manser, and were sentenced to death, but subsequently pardoned. The other party to the quarrel, Sir Philip Stanhope, did not appear at the Assizes, and forfeited his recognisance of five hundred pounds, although ten years later, an inquiry was held to prove that he was free from blame.

These brawls and quarrels represent the manners of the time, and such conduct did not stamp a man with the mark of opprobrium, for we find Sir Ralph Sadler recommending Sir John Zouch, noticed above, in connection with the attempted riot of 1576, as a suitable man to succeed him as guardian of the Queen of Scots, being, he says, "as mete a gentleman as can be chosen."†

* The entry in the Register-book thus appears:—"1610. March 9. Buryed one Peter Manser who being servant to Mr. Grieslie, an esquier of Staffordshier, was here slaine in an ungodlie fight, being wounded in the back." The man was probably an Irishman, and his name Mansergh.

† This practice of local fighting between gentlemen aided by their retainers gradually changed into personal fights, or duels. In 1736, an encounter of this nature came off at the Shakespear Tavern, between Lord Southwell and the Honourable John Stanhope, M.P. for the borough; and a later somewhat ludicrous "affair of honour" is reported in the local press in 1794, when two young bucks, Mr. S. and Mr. M., having quarrelled the previous evening, repaired to Nun's Green in the early morning, with their friends and a surgeon, whose assistance, however, was not required, for after firing several rounds without effect, the seconds decided that honour was satisfied, and we are told that all ended amicably.

Even the clergy, in early times, were occasionally involved in quarrels. In 1252, there was a dispute between the priests of All Saints' and the monks of Darley, who "obtruded," by forcing their way into the church, to celebrate mass or to hear confessions. In 1381, William, Abbot of Dale, complained to the King that Thomas, son of Godfrey Foljambe, + John Smith, of Stanley, and others, lay in wait for him at Derby, where they assaulted and threatened to kill him, driving him and his servants out of the town.

Seeing that the clergy and gentry of the Middle Ages settled their disputes with force of arms, it is no wonder that the common soldier, drawn from the poorest ranks, was often engaged in broils and riots. The custom of permitting criminals to choose between imprisonment and enlistment did not tend to raise the moral standard of the army. So late as 1803, an instance of this custom occurred at Derby, and so early as 1327, Edward III. granted a pardon to Oliver Lightlad, of Derby, for causing the death of one Simon, on condition that he joined the expedition against the Scots.

In early times, the soldiery passing through the town occasionally came to blows with the people. In 1299, the Earl of Gloucester complained to the Crown that, during his absence with the royal army in Scotland, some of his Welsh servants, carrying home his goods, were assaulted whilst passing through the town of Derby, and his property stolen. Welshmen were regarded as foreigners, for Wales had but recently been subjugated, and during this particular expedition against the Scots, the English and Welsh

composing Edward's army had quarrelled among themselves, so that the Derby people regarded the Welshmen as fair plunder. In 1601, two hundred soldiers passing through the town on Sunday, on their way to Ireland, attacked the townspeople going to church, the disturbance being quelled by the Bailiff, who rang the town's bell, and called the burgesses to arms.

Wars, domestic or foreign, continually demanded their tale of men and provisions, the former easily found, but the latter difficult to supply, by a community often suffering from famine. In 1308, the King demanded from the counties of Derby and Nottingham, for the Scottish expedition, 500 men, together with 300 quarters of wheat, 300 of oats, 200 of barley-malt, and 200 bacon hogs. In 1322, the town of Derby was held to supply armed footmen, to be chosen from the strongest men of the town, their expenses to be charged on the community.

The French wars, always popular, also drained the country of men and money. In the famous expedition of 1415, in which the great Battle of Agincourt was fought, the Derby men served under Richard, Lord Grey of Codnor, and would "remember with advantages the feats they did on Crispin's day." In the reign of Henry VIII., levies of men were still being raised for his useless French expeditions, and the subsidies to pay for them extended over four years, one of the collectors in Derby being the master-dyer, Liversage. The men were to be able-bodied, and to be furnished with liveries and badges, but nothing is said of weapons, for every yeoman could draw his own long-bow or

trail his pike. Conditions changed during the next generation, when the bow gave place to the arquebus, the primitive firearm which took so long to prepare before it could be used with effect. In the muster of array for the town of Derby, taken in 1539, the old state of things prevailed—the mounted archers numbered ten, the unmounted, thirty-nine; the mounted billmen, fifty-six, the unmounted, one hundred and twenty-six. Thirty years later the Commissioners report that they cannot enforce the order respecting the exercising of the arquebusiers, part only being armed with the new weapon, also the purchase of ammunition and the providing of shooting-butts were difficulties not yet surmounted. These defects lasted many years, but in 1619, the Commissioners report from Derby that they have provided powder for the train-bands, and it is evident that the long-bow had become a weapon of the past.

Whilst kings and nobles, abbots, merchants, and soldiers were continually passing through Derby, wealthy townspeople occasionally went abroad to see the world, and to bring home wonderful stories. In 1327, Richard de Overton, of Derby, obtained the King's protection, or passport, for five years, he "going on a pilgrimage beyond seas." At the same time, Payn, the draper, one of the merchants of the Market Place, obtained a similar permission for six years. In 1519, William More, a sutler, obtained permission to go in the train of Sir Richard Wingfield, Deputy of Calais.

During the Tudor period, the ancient baths at Buxton were recommended by John Jones, "Phisition at the King's Mede nigh Darby" (1572), and in the

seventeenth century, the chalybeate springs around Quarndon must have attracted a number of substantial townspeople, for during the time of the Commonwealth, Swetnam, of All Saints', preached there on Sunday afternoons, for the benefit of visitors. The accommodation was of the same slender character as that at Buxton, and a traveller who passed through about 1720, says that the village was "pretty full of company," but afforded "wretched lodging and entertainment."

The town life of by-gone Derby was filled with variety. Like the colours of the dresses in the streets, the sombre and the gay mingled together; people took short views of life, they were easily impressed with its realities, but not deeply. The county goal, built over St. Peter's Bridge, where the prisoners might eke out the daily prison-fare of a penny loaf by begging from passing travellers, was constantly in evidence. The cries for charity were shared with those of the authorised beggars in the streets, who, in 1608, were provided by the town with money-boxes, fastened to the girdle by a chain. The poor leper from the Hospital of St. Leonard, swinging his clapper to warn the passers-by of his approach, was too common an object to enlist much sympathy; so also was the parish idiot, who wandered about in a conspicuous red gown provided by the church;* but the unusual sight of a nun leaving the town voluntarily to immure herself in a hermit's cell for the rest of her days might probably draw a crowd of gazers. Such an

* The wardens' accounts of 1695 record "A new gown for Mad Margery, thirteen shillings."

incident happened in 1509, when Joan Hythe left Derby to be enclosed in a cell of the church at Macclesfield.

During the fourteenth century, when the stone bridge, with its chapel, dedicated to the Virgin Mary, was built, some of the churches in the town were replaced by structures in the Decorated style of architecture then becoming general. The old church of All Saints', whose tower is all that remains, dates from this period, the only one which has survived to our time being St. Peter's. Smaller, and perhaps less elaborate, than its neighbours which have disappeared, it still possesses points of interest. Here may be seen the remains of the chantries, where the priest officiated at masses for the soul of the benevolent Liversage and others; and high in the chancel-wall is the aperture or "squint," affording a secret watch over the altar ornaments. The east window is one of the few pieces of Gothic work remaining in Derby, the tracery showing transition towards a later style, which fixes the time of its execution in the last years of the fourteenth century.

The interior of the churches afforded more entertainment and interest than the bare and sombre appearance they present to-day. The inventories tell us of altars and side-chapels, the tapers ever burning, and the images decked in gay robes and ornaments. In All Saints' Church, the wax candles lighted before the altar were contributed by the various trade guilds of the town; those used at the altar of St. Nicholas were paid for by the scholars, the task of collection being part of the schoolmaster's

duty. In the will of Richard Robinson, dated 1518, he directs that at his burial at All Saints' Church, "the choir should sing *Placebo* and *Dirige*," that five wax tapers should be lighted on his hearse in the church, and five on the seventh day ensuing.

This pomp and show displayed at the funerals of the rich did not seriously decline at the time of the Reformation, as we have already observed. Hutton gives a description of the funeral of John Lombe, of the Silk Mill, who was buried at All Saints' in November, 1722, when the procession extended from his house at the corner of Silk Mill Lane to the church, passing through the Market Place. "Besides the row of flambeaux on each side of the procession, one person in every fourth couple carried a branch with four candles weighing a pound."

A survival of the mediæval custom of burning candles on the hearse over the grave lasted well into the nineteenth century, for on the occasion of the death of the Princess Charlotte, in November, 1817, and also on the death of George III., in February, 1820, the Mayor and Corporation of Derby, at seven in the evening, the hour of the state funeral, went in procession from the Town Hall to All Saints' Church by torchlight.

Funeral display by the rich was imitated occasionally by the poor. In January, 1834, during the great strike, one of the trades-unionist members died, and a long procession followed the corpse to the grave. Eighty women, in white dresses and hoods, walked three abreast, followed by the officers of the society, carrying the Bible and other insignia, after whom came sixteen hundred people, representing the

numerous trades, walking three abreast, and wearing white rosettes with a sprig of laurel.

Intimately connected with the churches were the charities of the town, which date, for the most part, from the seventeenth century, when, the population being small, the rich took individual and personal interest in the poor. The doles of bread or of small sums of money belong to the times when famine was periodical, and food often difficult to obtain. Richard Crowshaw, whose monument is in All Saints' Church, was a native of Derby, who migrated to London, where he grew rich as a goldsmith. His character as an active philanthropist stands high, for it is recorded that during the plague of 1625, he stayed in the city to relieve the sick poor, and at his death, in 1631, not forgetting his native town, he left a sum to provide the poor with bread and cheese, and with threepence in money on stated Sundays. Joseph Swetnam, minister of All Saints' during the Commonwealth, left sixteen shillings for ever, to be distributed among sixteen poor widows every Good Friday; and Samuel Ward's will provides that fourpence in bread shall be given each Sunday to six poor people, "of whatever persuasion, but especially them that come to church."

Of the more important charities, one, the Greycoat Hospital, which stood in Walker Lane, has disappeared, said to have been "conveyed," after the manner of much of the burgess' property. The Wilmot Hospital, for ten poor men and women, was built in Bridge Gate in 1630, being known as the "Black Almshouses," because of the dress prescribed for the inmates. The original timbered

houses were replaced in 1814 by more modern cottages.

At the east end of All Saints' Church stand the Almshouses, now untenanted, originally built by "Bess of Hardwick" (1599), towards the close of a long life spent in amassing wealth and power. Her instructions to the inmates show the strong business characteristics of this lady, also her love of order and detail. She appoints Richard Hayward and his wife, Dorothy, to be custodians of the Almshouses, and to be responsible for the behaviour of the inmates, who must assemble in All Saints' Church each morning and evening, to pray for the foundress and her family. Moreover, Mistress Dorothy is to be entrusted with the key of the chapel in All Saints' Church, where she "shall at least every week, once or oftener, as need shall require, cleanse, dust, and sweep over the monument" of the Countess.

Alas! for the vanity of human greatness. The vault containing the coffins of this proud lady and her descendants, with all the tawdry and mouldering surroundings of the charnel-house, was for many years made a peep-show for the benefit of the church officers.*

The Liversage trust is one of those few charities which has grown with time. Its modern proportions would probably astonish the founder, who, in pre-Reformation times, left his property, partly to the

* The principal object of curiosity in this vault was a leaden coffin, into the corner of which a hole had been broken by some sacrilegious rascal, enabling the sexton to thrust in a lighted candle to afford a view of the skeleton, supposed to be the remains of "the long-armed Duke who could tie his garters below the knee without bending his back."

mass-priest of St. Peter's, and partly to thirteen poor men and women, who should attend Friday's mass, and receive each a silver penny; and Hutton draws a picture of the weekly scramble in the church porch, where there were always more applicants than pence. As the property grew in value, almshouses were erected in St. Peter's Churchyard, to be replaced later by others, which have long formed a pleasing picture on the London Road.

The religious life of the Middle Ages was mingled with a strong belief in the miraculous. In Derby, the shirt of Thomas à Becket, the Red Book, with its wonderful power, and the relics of St. Alkmund, were among the objects of veneration. Even after the Reformation, when their sacred character had disappeared, Fuller tells us that the chapmen from the north country were accustomed to lay their packs on St. Alkmund's shrine for luck. Another instance of the credulity of the people is shown in the account of the execution of the Popish priests in 1588, when one of them, unrobing himself for the punishment, exposed a hair shirt which, according to the custom of his faith, he wore next his body for penance, and the crowd, imagining something supernatural, at once cried out: "A devil! a devil!"

In the thirteenth century records of Burton Abbey appear several detailed accounts of marvellous signs displayed in the heavens, all elaborately done into Latin by the Abbey scribe. On October 14th, 1253, according to this chronicle, a wonderful sight was witnessed at Alvaston, near Derby, by a large number of people, one of whom, Nicholas of Findern, duly reported it to the Abbey authorities. About

the hour of vespers, the sky being clear, suddenly a large bright star appeared out of a black cloud, with two smaller stars in the vicinity. A battle royal soon commenced, the small stars charging into the great star again and again, so that it began to diminish in size, and sparks of fire fell from the combatants. This continued for a considerable time, and at last the spectators, "stupefied by fear and wonder, and ignorant of what it might portend, fled."*

Along with these marvellous stories, our monastic annals nevertheless preserve much of the history of the time—remarkable local events, including records of serious floods in the Trent valley, and town fires, which caused the Abbot to remit his dues.

Even the religious houses, the most substantial buildings of those days, did not escape the ravages of fire, and the narrow streets and low thatched houses made the danger greater to the general community. A fire at St. James', in 1335, destroyed the church, the priory, and the hospital, being practically the whole of the monastery; and the fire at the Nunnery, about the year 1400, has already been noticed.

Thatch was a common feature in the town as late as the seventeenth century, for in the report of a hurricane, in 1662, which untiled the Town Hall and worked much other mischief, it is curiously stated that, north of All Saints' Church, "not a tile, scarce a straw, stirred off any house." Every great fire

* Against this story, it may be noted that in 1255, about Ascension, a sturgeon, eight feet long, was caught in the Trent at Castle Donington, when old people remembered that a similar fish was caught in the same place the year before King John was crowned, or fifty-seven years earlier.

caused general alarm, as it was not uncommon for towns to be completely gutted, and during a fire in the Wardwick, in 1668, the fear of a general conflagration spread as far as Irongate, where people began to remove their goods. It is evident that the impression caused by the great fire of London (1666) was still fresh in the public mind.*

In the year 1717, the records of All Saints' mention a fire-engine, showing that the primitive method of extinguishing fires by ladder and bucket had then been superseded. These parish engines, however, threw only a feeble stream of water, and being fed with buckets, instead of suction-hose, were never very effective. In March, 1769, a fire broke out in a row of thatched cottages at Abbey Barns, which burnt off the whole roof, although several engines were present; and the accounts of later fires show very similar misfortunes. In June, 1817, a fire began at night at a mill in Bridge Street, used for several purposes, the upper story forming the newly-established Bell's School. The watchman gave the alarm, and the bells of the different churches woke up the town, yet, despite the efforts of seven parish engines, the flames reached Davenport's mill, adjoining, which was destroyed, story after story, the neighbouring dwelling-houses being saved only by a constant shower of water. Many people were thrown out of employment, but the school children rejoiced that the desks and books were destroyed,

* Thatched roofs were not at all uncommon in Derby at a much later date. The Old White Horse and the Rising Sun Inns in Friar Gate, with cottages adjoining, will be remembered by many as examples, as well as the half-timbered cottages opposite to St. Werburgh's Church and others in Silk Mill Lane.

promising a long holiday. The crowd was kept at a safe distance by the soldiers of the 95th Regiment, who formed a cordon around the conflagration.

There was always abundance of help on these occasions, and alacrity was generally shown in getting the appliances to work. On the occasion of a serious fire at the Exchange Buildings, in Nottingham Market Place, on November 26th, 1836, expresses were despatched to summon engines from the neighbouring towns, and St. Werburgh's engine, from Derby, was on the scene in less than three hours after the trooper left Nottingham with his message. In April, 1838, a trial was made with St. Peter's engine, which threw a jet of water over the weather-vane of the Town Hall, but the delivery hose was found to be defective, although the engine had lately undergone repairs; and it was not until the system of water-mains and hydrants was instituted that any effective use of the engines could be made in case of fire.

This was unfortunately made too plain in the conflagration which destroyed the Town Hall on Thursday, October 21st, 1841. A policeman discovered the outbreak at two o'clock in the morning, the town being at once aroused by the cries of "Fire!" and the noise of bells and rattles. The engines were quickly on the spot, and cordons were arranged to pass water along, but the buckets were few and organisation was defective. The "Niagara," in front of the Town Hall, was fed by a line of buckets from the Market Place pump, but the waste was great, the helpers were wet through, and the report says that the engines played "as long and

as frequently as they could obtain supplies of water."* The fire broke out in an upper room at the rear of the building, and the first engine began to play at this point, several others being stationed at the front, but all without the slightest effect, the cry for water being general.

About four o'clock, the roof began to give way, the flames rising above the building made an awful spectacle, and the Cross Keys Inn and adjoining houses being in danger, it became necessary to remove the furniture. About five, the fire had burned downwards to the ground floor, and from the Market Place the building, with its many windows, presented one immense blaze. By daybreak, the fire was deadening for want of fuel, and by six o'clock, it had practically burnt itself out, leaving nothing but the shell of the building ; the town records, extending over centuries, being destroyed, and nothing saved except the Chamberlain's papers, which were in the safe. The building was insured for five thousand pounds, estimated at about one-half of its value.

A periodical calamity which has already been noticed, was flooding, caused by the overflow of the Markeaton Brook. Although the first record belongs to the year 1587, the chronicles of Burton Abbey mention disastrous inundations in the Trent valley as early as the thirteenth century, and the flood in Derby in 1611, described as "in the memory of man, the like was never seen," implies comparison with a

* The old "Niagara" became the recognised type of public inefficiency, and no sarcastic squib-writer failed to adopt it when drawing attention to the mighty promises and slender performances of local politicians.

succession of earlier visitations. In September, 1659, there was a serious flood, "the lower parts of Derby town being almost drowned," the inhabitants being compelled to betake themselves and their goods into the upper stories. On Sunday, July 19th, 1673, the water rose in the night, standing two feet high in the middle aisle of St. Werburgh's Church, the warden assuring us "it weare masured." "Such a flood," he says, "was not known in our age before." In the town, the destruction caused was widespread; bridges were broken down, one at St. James' Lane being carried some distance down the stream, and "landed at the pump in St. Peter's Parish." The hay lying on Nun's Green was carried away, along with other property, the inn-cellars in the Corn Market were flooded, the water rising "near, if not quite, to the Shambles' End." This flood seriously interfered with the Assizes, the Judges having arrived; but very few magistrates or jurymen appeared, as some of the roads were impassable.

The flood of 1740, already noticed, is described as "the greatest ever known," although its height is not officially recorded. The height of the flood of 1795 was marked on the door of an outhouse near St. Werburgh's Church, showing that the brook rose about twelve feet; the statement that it was a greater flood than had occurred for fifty years avoiding comparison with that of 1740.

The last deluge of any serious moment occurred on the morning of Friday, April 1st, 1842, the town at that period having attained to a high degree of wealth and prosperity. A temporary check was caused by this outbreak, which did damage to the amount of

twenty-five or thirty thousand pounds—the most disastrous, from a financial point of view, of the many floods recorded. The brook began to rise about midnight, and by two o'clock, the watchmen, perceiving through the deluge of rain that the adjoining streets were becoming flooded, proceeded to alarm the town. By this time, the water was rising rapidly, and much difficulty was experienced in removing cattle into places of safety. Numbers of sheep and pigs were drowned, and horses and cows belonging to small tradesmen were, in many cases, lost before the owners could reach them; although Mr. Wedge, a brewer, whose stables were near the Wardwick, managed, with the assistance of a few energetic neighbours, to release his horses, and remove them up Green Lane. A gentleman staying at the King's Head Inn looked out about four o'clock in the morning, to find the yard a huge tank, the horses in the stables standing in the water up to their bodies.

The pressure of water eventually burst open the shop doors, damaging or destroying the goods of grocers, silk-mercers, drapers, and others, the local papers giving a long list of tradesmen affected.

Mr. Joseph Strutt's collection of pictures and curios, always freely shown to strangers at his house in St. Peter's Street, was damaged to the extent of £1,000. The gas-works was drowned out, and the following night was made gloomier by the absence of gas. The brook rose fourteen feet, the water in St. Werburgh's Church standing one foot, and in the Corn Market five feet six inches high, and receded about noon, leaving a deposit of mud and filth which made business for a time impossible, the

loss being the greater as the shops held extra stocks for the Easter fair visitors. Unfortunately, a fatality occurred in Brook Street, where a woman, on being awakened by the strange noise, attempted to follow her husband downstairs, and, missing her footing in the darkness, was drowned. Since then a modern system of drainage has prevented these occasional rises in the brook from working serious mischief.*

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Four years later, another ancient feature of social life, regarded by many as an annual nuisance, disappeared, when the Shrove Tuesday football was finally suppressed.

This rough game, which in earlier times had been the sport of the whole of the apprentice element in the town, gradually became relegated to the lusty few, who retained the ruder characteristics of their ancestors. There is no record of the origin of this custom in Derby, although several local traditions exist; but as it was played on Shrove Tuesday, an old apprentice holiday; as the custom had been for the Mayor to throw the ball from the Guildhall window, and as the game was not peculiar to Derby, but was a national sport in the Middle Ages, it may have come down from the establishment of the Trade Guilds and the apprentice system.

* A Derby man, whose family at that time occupied a humble position in the town, recollects, as a boy of five, sitting at the stair head, in their old cottage in Bold Lane, observing the household effects afloat in the room below. Meanwhile, an elder brother reaped a small harvest of coppers by cruising around, on an old door, acting as errand boy for the flood-bound neighbourhood. One who is still living, nine years old at the time, well remembers being launched in a wash-tub in the cellars of the Bell Hotel, to save some rare old wines laid down in the previous century by his great-grandfather, Mr. Campion.

Hutton tells us that the game went on merrily in his day, players often leaping into the river in hot pursuit of the ball, even when snow lay upon the ground. Some of the neighbouring gentry, also, strongly advocated it, although conducted without much rule, the roughest horseplay being allowable, and the shortest road to the goals being taken, often to the destruction of property. On the morrow, the victorious crew, bearing aloft the Tunchy Shenton of the hour, who had punched the ball at midnight on to the mill-wheel at Nun's Green, or "the Gallows balk," near the Depôt on Rose Hill, paraded the town, soliciting contributions.

A letter in the *Mercury* of February, 1815, indicates that the intelligent section of the population were averse to this annual suspension of law and order. The writer, a commercial traveller, finding business suspended for the day, went with a friend to the Market Place, where the crowd soon separated them. He himself was struck over the face with a "dirty clout," and found it necessary to retire up a court, and wash at the pump; yet, in spite of this rough treatment, the writer evidently enjoyed the fun, and pours his scorn on those Derby "philosophers" * who exclaimed, "What low work, what a contemptible object!" whilst the multitude of men, women, and children applauded the sport. The Market Place was given over for the day to lawless jesting, people of

* This curious use of the word "philosopher" is stereotyped in Boswell's account of a conversation between Dr. Johnson and his old college friend, Mr. Edwards. "You are a philosopher, Dr. Johnson," said Edwards. "I have tried too, in my time, to be a philosopher; but I don't know how—cheerfulness was always breaking in."

gentle manners avoiding that quarter of the town; although a letter in the *Mercury* of February, 1844, complains, that the rough element did not confine themselves to this recognised quarter, for the writer and other peaceable people were assaulted in the Wardwick by a band of men carrying small bags of soot, with which they begrimed the clothes and faces of the passers-by.* Another letter from a gardener on the outskirts bewails the damage done to his fences and crops by the passing of players over his property, and complains that, being outside the borough, he has no remedy.

As early as 1731, Hutton records that the Mayor, Isaac Borrow, attempted to suppress the game, and again, in 1747, it was forbidden, but the populace proved too strong for the authorities during another century. In 1832, the *Mercury* denounced football, and in 1845 characterised it as "dirty, unmanly, and absurd play." The Mayor in that year attempted to stop it by substituting sports in the Holmes, on condition that the ball was not thrown, but about two o'clock, a small crowd commenced to play, whereupon the sports in the Holmes were abandoned, much to the disappointment of the people assembled there.

In 1846, it was determined to adopt stronger

* This delightful amusement was known as "dusting"; bags of loosely-woven canvas were filled with powder-colours procured from Ellam's or Pegg's works. The victim was attacked first from the rear, and then, as he turned round to identify his assailant, he was "dusted" on all sides—blue, white, red, yellow and black—until, half-blinded and wholly angry, he managed to make his escape. The "dusters" worked entirely among lookers-on upon the outskirts of the play, and any unpopular person was certain to be the object of their attention.

measures. Two troops of Dragoons were brought in from Nottingham, and the centre of the town was patrolled by special constables. Footballs were thrown in different places, some near the Morledge, and one coming from a public-house. The crowd attempted to play, but was broken-up and interrupted by the special constables, under the supervision of the Mayor, Mr. W. Eaton Mousley, who, whilst moving in the midst, was struck on the shoulder with a brickbat; but finding after about an hour's play that his powers were insufficient, the Riot Act was read, whereupon the troopers scattered the players. During the remainder of the afternoon, Derby was under martial law, and the old townsmen, ignorant of its meaning, and stopping at street corners to exchange the time of day, as usual, suddenly beheld a dragoon bearing down upon them with uplifted sword, and were obliged to retire precipitately into the nearest shop or entry.*

In the sequel, several "rioters" were brought before the magistrates, and committed for trial at the Assizes, when the prosecuting counsel summed up the situation by showing that when the town was small, the game was allowable, the number of players being comparatively few, but the population had grown considerably during the past fifty years, and the custom had become an insufferable nuisance. The court admitted the force of the complaint,

* More amusement than sympathy was aroused, when a trooper, cantering down College Place in the dusk of the evening, and ignorant of the existence of the steps at the further end, rolled with his horse into Full Street.

although it dismissed the prisoners, considering the charge not of a serious nature.

Next year, troops were again brought into the town in readiness, but nothing unusual occurred, and Derby football of the old style became a tradition of the past.

Another rough sport of an age which took and gave hard knocks was cock-fighting, associated with Cockpit Hill from early times, although, in 1617, a new cock-pit was built on Nun's Green for the gentry of that quarter of the town. It was a sign of the improvement of the age that, during the latter part of the eighteenth century, this sport was practised more privately by being held at some public-house, sometimes in Derby, but oftener at the "Saracen's Head" at Brailsford.

A contrast to these rude traits of character is the picture of the Town Waits—a small company of musicians who, at intervals, perambulated the streets after nightfall, serenading the more substantial burgesses, and not forgetting the county gentry at the Assizes and at other times. In the list of expenses incurred by John Rhodes, Esq., High Sheriff in 1591, occurs an item, "The waytes of Derby 2s. 6d." On State occasions, they preceded the Mayor and Corporation from the Town Hall to All Saints' Church, their instruments being a hautboy, three violins, and a bass viol, together with a trumpet and French horn.

Another species of town music more highly prized in its early days, was the carillon of All Saints', constructed by Sorocold, the millwright, and improved by Whitehurst, the clockmaker, who bears the credit

of having added the tune for Friday—Handel's "March in Scipio."*

To the names of those men who have helped to make the commercial position of the town, from John de la Cornere and his successors, Liversage, Lombe, Whitehurst, Duesbury, and Strutt, down to its capable men of to-day, may be added the names of the few who, connected with the town by birth or association, have attained to fame, national or world-wide.

John Flamsteed, the son of a maltster, was born at Denby in 1646, whither his parents had removed from their home in Queen Street, on account of the plague. He lived in Derby for the first twenty-five years of his life, being educated at the Grammar School. An inclination for astronomical work showed itself early, for at sixteen years of age he observed a partial solar eclipse, and constructed a quadrant, after the manner of the old astronomers, with which he measured roughly the sun's altitude, pursuing his studies under the "discouragement of friends, want of

* There is no other authority than Woolley's MS. for Sorocold in this connection, the church accounts being silent about him. He was an ingenious mechanic, and may have taken the chimes in hand for repair, but certainly did not originate them, their existence from the sixteenth century being proved by the records of the church. The books are equally unmindful of the elder Whitehurst, who is known to have entirely remodelled the chiming apparatus, and to have set new tunes to the cylinder, most likely between 1745, when the clock was set up, and 1762, in which year the churchwardens paid a guinea "for setting two tunes on the chimes." One of these was Handel's "Grand March" in the opera of *Scipione*. He died in 1788, and in 1798, the churchwardens' books record that they "paid Mr. Whitehurst's bill for setting a tune on the chimes. God save the King. £5 5s. od." It is, therefore, to the younger Whitehurst that Derby is indebted for the National Anthem,

health, and of all other instructors, except his better genius." At fourteen, he contracted rheumatism, due to bathing, and his life henceforth was a long struggle between a strong will and feeble health. At twenty-two, he observed another eclipse, using his clumsy instruments with sufficient skill to discover that the old tables of the positions of the heavenly bodies were very inaccurate. He thereupon began his life-long work of correcting and supplementing these tables, a labour of fifty years, during which he worked with inefficient instruments and straitened means.

At the age of twenty-four, he went to London, where he was introduced to Sir Jonas Moore, Surveyor-General of Ordnance at the Tower and a great mathematician, who noticed his genius, and procured lenses for his telescopes. These he used on his return to Derby, afterwards removing them to the new Observatory at Greenwich, together with his three-feet quadrant, when he was established there by the King, at the age of thirty.

During the following thirteen years, he fixed the positions of twenty thousand stars, his object being to provide tables which should enable the mariner to find his longitude at sea. At forty-two, his father died, and his circumstances being improved, he extended his apparatus, and secured still greater accuracy, his results being largely used by Newton, his contemporary, whose superior genius has overshadowed the importance of the work which Flamsteed accomplished. He died at the age of seventy-three, correcting and extending his great scheme to within a few days of his death.

~~X~~ Evelyn, a man possessing wide experience of human nature, says, in his diary, under date September 10th, 1676: "Din'd with me, Mr. Flamsted, the learned astrologer and mathematician. An honest sincere man."

Another town celebrity was Joseph Wright, the painter, known as "Wright of Derby," who was born at No. 28, Irongate, in 1734. Like Flamsteed, he received his education at the Grammar School, but unlike the astronomer, he, after various wanderings, returned to his native town, most of his best work being done at St. Helen's House, where he resided. His pictures include landscapes, portraits, and studies in chiaroscuro—the curious effects of strong lights and deep shadows, with which he is most generally associated. The result of a century's criticism, however, has established his reputation chiefly as a portrait painter, the best of his pictures in this class showing "sincerity and thoroughness, a true insight into character, being finely modelled and well painted." Among the local people of note whose features were handed down to posterity by Wright, are Erasmus Darwin, the philosopher; Christopher Heath, the banker who figured in the election trial of 1776; Whitehurst, the clockmaker; and several portraits of Wright himself. He died at No. 26, Queen Street, August 29th, 1797, and was buried in St. Alkmund's Church three days later.

Erasmus Darwin, although not a native of Derby, lived in the town and its immediate neighbourhood from 1781 until his death in 1802. One of his residences was the large house situated at the southern bend of Full Street, the water supply

being obtained in his day from an artesian well which he bored on the premises. As already noticed, he was connected with much practical work in the town, and a story is also told of his addressing the Derby working-men from a tub in the Market Place, on the importance of sanitation. "Do not suppose," said he, "because I give you advice without a fee, that it is useless. Open your windows, to let in the fresh air."* He was, nevertheless, regarded by many of his neighbours as a man of extreme views, and his circle of admirers among the Derby gentry must have been limited. To people with strong religious convictions, like Dr. Johnson, a short acquaintance with this outspoken philosopher was sufficient; and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, who spent three days in Derby in January, 1796, gives, in his *Biographia Literaria*, a one-sided account of his meeting with Dr. Darwin, when they engaged in a religious discussion, which appears to have been of a somewhat heated character. He traverses the doctor's arguments at great length, yet allows that he "possessed, perhaps, a greater range of knowledge than any man in Europe, and was the most inventive of philosophical men."

Without endorsing this eulogium, it may be remembered that Darwin's *Botanic Garden*, published five years before, contains the prophetic lines:—

"Soon shall thy arm, unconquered steam ! afar
Drag the slow barge and drive the rapid car."

* Miss Seward places the delivery of this speech at Nottingham, but as a writer in *Chamber's Journal* for 1847 (p. 221) locates it at Derby, the incident may have occurred at both places.

The theory of evolution, originated by Erasmus Darwin, was elaborated by a later townsman, Herbert Spencer, whose father and grandfather were school-masters in Derby. Spencer, in his autobiography, states that he was born on April 27th, 1820, at No. 12, Exeter Row, and that the family afterwards lived at No. 31, Wilmot Street, much of his youth and early manhood being spent in Derby, where he planned some of his work. During the series of lectures for the winter of 1830-1, he heard Spurzheim, the phrenologist, and was somewhat awestruck at the row of skulls ranged in front of the lecturer. During these early years, he did work in connection with the Philosophical Society, and in 1842, as a young engineer, he contributed a report to the Town Council on the recent flood, suggesting measures for its prevention. His principal works were written in London and at Brighton, where he died on December 8th, 1903.

Among local celebrities, the man whose personality is best known to the people of Derby is William Hutton, the town historian, who was born in Full Street on September 30th, 1723, and whose autobiography is a fund of information respecting the working-class in Derby in the early half of the eighteenth century.

His father was a woolcomber, shiftless and improvident, and, like many of his neighbours, too fond of the ale-house. Nevertheless, he was a man of some mental capacity, who taught his children to read, borrowed the local newspaper, and was able to give sound opinions on many subjects. During the two years after finishing his apprenticeship he dressed

well, having saved thirty pounds, and wore a watch, unusual in those days. Marriage, however, soon exposed a lack of application; and debts accumulating, poverty and misery became their general lot. His wife, although a prudent woman, could do little to remedy these evils, which grew worse after her death in 1733, when William was nine years old, being one of five children.

Their poverty was indeed pitiable. At times, mother and children passed the day fasting, and when food came, she divided her own share among them. On Christmas Day, 1728, one of the children was sent from King Street to the Morledge to borrow a dinner-knife, and the girl was returning unsuccessful, when she found one in the road, the family-rejoicing over this fortunate circumstance making an impression on Hutton's memory.

Naturally, their food was of the coarsest. Even in the early married days there was nothing, excepting ale, which could be called a luxury. Hutton remembered that at two years of age, when he and an elder brother began school, a girl, on market days, brought their dinner of buttered oat-cakes, a common food in Derby at that period, and earlier, for an aunt of his, whom he could well remember, "supplied Derby with oat-cakes during three-score years." White bread was a rarity, "blencon," or blended corn—a cheap mixture of wheat and rye—forming the household loaf. Their breakfast was milk porridge when their father was steady, but when work was thrown aside for the ale-house, there was often nothing in the cupboard. "At one time," says Hutton, "I fasted from breakfast one day to noon

the next," and then dined upon a hasty pudding, made of flour and water. The height of luxury was apparently boiled beef and cabbage, his brother Samuel boasting that when billeted as a soldier at a public-house in Derby, he lived on this fare for six months.

Hutton's schooling was naturally of a fragmentary character, and was soon completed. From the school mentioned he was removed, when five years old, to that of Thomas Meat, who sought to impart knowledge by seizing his pupils by the hair, and "jowling their heads against the wall."

Neither were home influences more softening. His father, morose when not in liquor, was a strong believer in the power of the rod. Kindness and gentle behaviour were unusual; when Hutton, aged five, was brought home by his mother, after an absence in Leicestershire of fifteen months, his father simply saluted him with "So, Bill." In 1734, Hutton's sister, aged fourteen, paid them a visit, after an absence of five years. On returning, her father called her to his bedside, gave her a kiss and two shillings at five o'clock in the morning, as she departed alone to find the Leicester wagon in the darkness. A glimpse of parental affection was shown on Hutton's tenth birthday, when his father treated the household to a quart of twopenny beer.

An aunt who married well, and who lived in Herefordshire, paid a visit to her relations in Nottingham in 1736, and Hutton, with his father and brother, meeting her, their lack of etiquette attracted her notice. "Billy," said she, "it is not good

manners to sit in the house with your hat on"—a lesson which Hutton never forgot.

At seven years of age, he began work at the Silk Mill, the hours being from five in the morning until seven at night, and the wages one shilling a week. As he was too small to reach the machine, a pair of high pattens was specially made for him, and these clumsy contrivances he dragged about for a year.

The recollections of his seven years at the Silk Mill were mainly of a miserable character. He speaks of the "ignorance and vulgarity" of the mill-hands, who neither learned, nor wished to learn, anything of an elevating nature; the mill was "a bear garden," where impudence and rudeness were the general characteristics. The slightest mistake on the part of these children was a signal for the rod, the culprit being hoisted on the back of a tall fellow, Bryan Barker, whilst punishment was inflicted. The child Hutton was terrorised by these constant cruelties, the story being well known of his awakening one morning to find it daylight, and hurrying to the mill in fear. The frost and snow had glazed the streets, and the boy fell nine times in his short journey along Full Street. He was surprised to find the mill in darkness, for the light from the snow had deceived him, and on returning home, the church clock struck two. Even at the age of thirteen, when his apprenticeship was nearing its close, the same rude discipline prevailed. His master, Richard Porter, beat him severely with a cane, leaving a wound, which, by a succeeding punishment, was seriously aggravated, and Hutton was advised to betake himself

to Kedleston Spa, where, by bathing, he effected a cure, although he carried the mark to the grave.

Still, there were occasional pleasant interludes, even in this sordid daily round at the Silk Mill. The clerk who bribed Hutton to leave the Meeting House and attend church, privately observed the boy playing push-pin; but his method of correction dispensed with the rod. Approaching Hutton in the mill, he went through the game of push-pin in dumb show, to the chagrin of the culprit, for, says Hutton, "he brought the laugh of the whole room upon me." On another occasion, his hat blew off in the mill-yard into the Derwent, whereupon Mr. Thomas Bennett, the manager, sent him to a hatter's for a new one. Such an opportunity seldom happened, and Hutton chose one with a silver tassel, and was the envy or admiration of all the mill-boys. During the summer of 1735, the mill, owing to the river being low, was partially stopped, and the children enjoyed a holiday.

At fourteen, he left the place which had given him a "seven years' heartache." With his knife, he cut his initials and date, "W. H., 1737," on one of the frames, and at Christmas he was free.

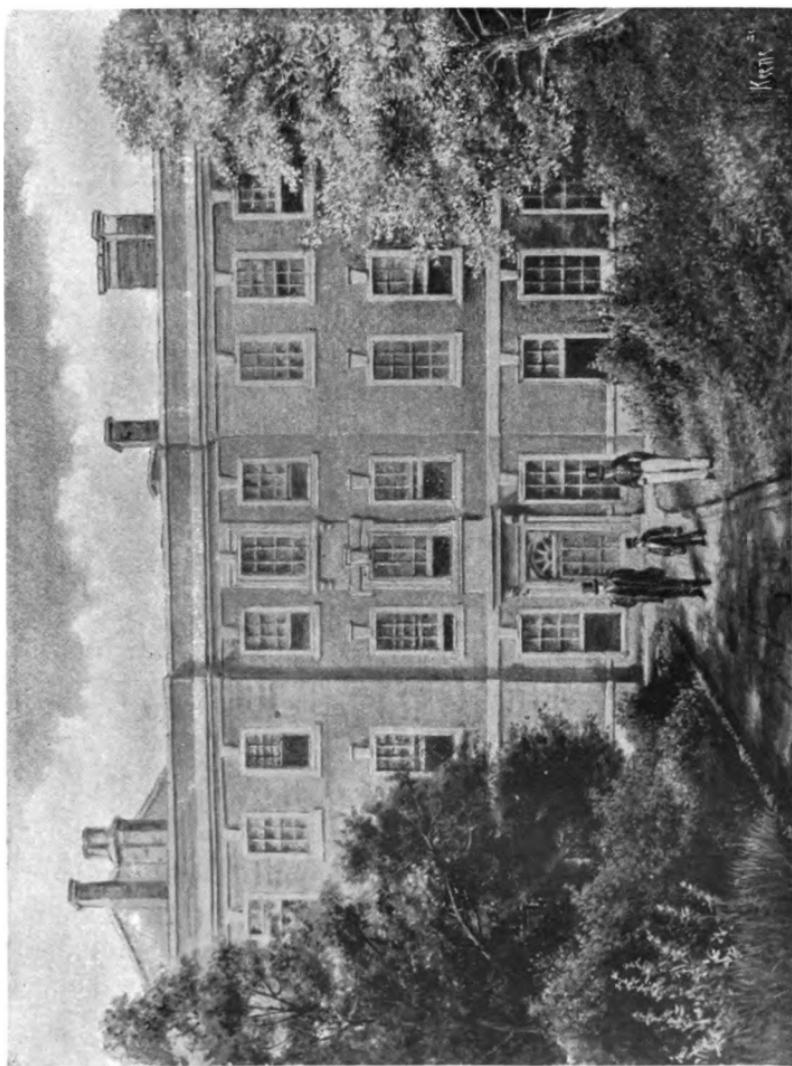
After some uncertainty, he bound himself, at Nottingham, for another seven years to a stockinger, during which period he often came to Derby for a few days. In 1745, he spent Christmas at home, when all the talk was of the rebels. The next year, he began to bind and repair old books, and in 1749, having decided to adopt this trade, he walked from Nottingham to London to purchase suitable tools, performing the double journey in nine days. In

1750, he removed to Birmingham, where he established himself as a bookbinder and bookseller, and where he spent the remainder of his long life, becoming wealthy and respected.

As old age crept on, his native town saw him at intervals; in 1790, the year before the publication of his *History of Derby*, and again in 1803, when he found that every person he had known at the Silk Mill was in the grave. "I frequently singled out and accosted an old man," he says, "when it appeared that I had known his father." In 1808, he went to the Silk Mill, and saw the initials which he cut with his knife, sixty-six years before. In 1810, he passed through Derby, and saw the workmen demolishing the house between the Town Hall and the Corn Market, where, when he first went to school, the maid brought his dinner of buttered oatcake.

During one of these later visits, he remarked that the "town is increasing and rising in opulence," yet he never forgot the harsh treatment meted out to him as a boy, and drew an unfair contrast between Derby, slow and old-fashioned, and Birmingham, the town of freedom and progress.

He was so little remembered in Derby, that, when chronicling his death in September, 1815, the *Mercury* stated that "he was a native of Nottingham."



EXETER HOUSE, FULL STREET.

Pulled down 1854.

CHAPTER VI. TRADE AND POLITICS

AUTHORITIES :—“*Gild Merchant*,” Gros—“*Britannia*,” Camden—“*Industrial History of England*,” Gibbins—“*Growth of English History and Commerce*,” Cunningham—“*English Wayfaring Life*,” Jusserain—“*Records of Borough of Leicester*,” Bateson—“*History of Parish and Priory of Lenton*,” Godfrey—“*Domesday Book, and beyond*,” Maitland—“*History of British Commerce*,” Leir—“*Town Life in Fifteenth Century*,” Green—“*Technical History of Commerce*,” Yeats—“*History of Post-office*,” Baines—Woolley’s MS. (Simpson)—“*Through England on a Side-saddle*,” De Fiene—“*History of Hosiery and Lace Manufactures*,” Felkin—Derby Mercers’ Company (“*Journal of Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society*,” 1893), H. Arnold-Bemrose—“*Derby China Factory*,” Haslem—“*Bow, Chelsea, and Derby Porcelain*,” W. Bemrose, F.S.A.,—Derby Election Trial Report, 1776—Municipal Corporations Act, 1835, Report of Commissioners—Derby Directory, 1828.



THE local trade of Derby previous to the Conquest, as shown by the few facts recorded in Domesday, was chiefly of an agricultural character. Corn was an abundant product of the neighbourhood, and milling was a general industry in the town. The Saxon highway from north to south indicates the traffic in lead, and the coins struck at

Derby during the reign of several of the Saxon kings, mark it as a place of some importance.

It is through the charters obtained from the Norman kings that we may observe the growth and variety of the town trade. The first and second charters, granted during the century following the Conquest, are both lost, although it is known that one of them permitted the establishment of a Merchant Guild. The third charter, granted by King John in the year 1204, for the sum of sixty-two marks and two palfreys, is extant, being a copy of one previously granted to Nottingham. It confirms the privileges already enjoyed by the town and guild, and makes some valuable extensions. Markets are to be held every Friday and Saturday, to which the farmers may resort with their four-horse wagons and their pack-horses, and where no creditor, except the King, shall seize their goods for debt. The borough may also elect its own Bailiff, to collect the market tolls, bridge dues, and other customs, paying the King his portion, one-half at Easter and the remainder at Michaelmas, at which feast the Bailiff's office expired. A greater privilege was the sole right to dye cloth within a circuit of ten miles round Derby, which thus became a staple town for that trade by enforcing the weavers of the surrounding country to bring thither their products.

In the year 1256, the borough paid seventy marks for the privilege of choosing its own coroner and for other liberties; later, sixty marks to allow the County Court to be held in the town, and ten marks for the privilege of expelling the Jews. In the space of about a hundred and fifty years, trade had

evidently grown sufficiently to enable the Merchant Guild to transact its business without borrowed capital, and to purchase concessions from the Crown for substantial sums.

For two centuries or more, the Guild performed the functions for which it was created—it arranged the details of fairs and markets, punished members who offered inferior goods for sale, recovered debts in the courts, and bought new charters, or privileges, with the common fund; but as time advanced, and population increased, it became a monopoly, using its self-assumed powers against its own townsmen. The richer members refused to admit new burgesses to their privileges, unless they submitted to a fine, prohibitive in many cases. Having secured the control of the Guildhall, they gradually assumed that of the market, until by the middle of the thirteenth century, free contract between buyer and seller was becoming difficult. In 1283, the Crown discovered that the Guild had exacted excessive tolls in the borough, and as a punishment, their charter was seized, to be redeemed on payment of a fine; but matters did not improve, as the details of an inquiry in 1330 show.

In this trial, the burgesses were summoned before the Crown, when the State lawyer maintained that the terms of the charter had been violated, and recited certain facts, substantiated by twelve witnesses. If a merchant brought his wares to Derby market, and a member of the Guild offered him a price, or "placed his foot upon it," as the phrase went, the merchant must either close with him, or take the goods away unsold, for no other

tradesmen in the town would dare to bid over the head of the Guild. Further, if any merchant came to town to buy goods, the Guild merchants sold to him at their own price, the profits made on these unfair transactions being paid into their own exchequer. In other cases, the merchant paid a fine to the Guild to be allowed to sell to whom he pleased, another method of benefiting themselves at the expense of the community. In the end, the charges being proved, the Guild was fined in the sum of forty marks, or about three hundred pounds in modern currency.

In this report of 1330, the staples of Derby trade are given as wine, wool, sheep-skins, leather, and lead—a comprehensive business, maintaining a full and steady market. Wine was a foreign import, denoting a trade with the local nobles and the monastic orders; lead, because of its stability in value, often took the place of money in commerce. In 1307, the Vicar of St. Werburgh's possessed pigs of lead, and at the Dissolution, the quantity at Darley Abbey was valued at some thousands of pounds in modern currency. Woolley says that Derby was a storehouse for lead; it formed a basis of the town's credit, and was exported to Stourbridge fair in the early centuries, in exchange for wine and spices and, later, for hops. The wool-fells and leather—the raw material and the finished article—imply other sorts of commerce, and the wool was both a marketable commodity and the basis of the local weaving industry. A glimpse of the Derby woolcombers of the period appears in 1291, when the Leicester Guild summoned one of its

members, Walter de Mountsorrel, for taking women to Derby to prepare wool—a breach of trade-custom, to which he pleaded guilty.

In the course of barter, as maintained between Darley Abbey and the monks of Coventry, Derby supplied saddles and riding furniture, in exchange for needles and soap, the Derby goods representing the work of the craftsmen in Sadler Gate, with the small ironwork executed by the lorimers in the Irontate. Some of the work of the general smiths is known by the items mentioned in the inventory of articles taken from Walter de London, Vicar of St. Werburgh's, in 1307—a cresset or portable fire-grate, a pair of andirons or hearth-dogs, two pairs of plough-irons, and a quantity of chain. The corn-mills, with their clumsy wooden machinery, the brewing-vats, and the coopers' ale-barrels, all required minor ironwork from the smiths, whose forges in Iron Gate lay on that side of the town nearest to the natural supplies of iron around Codnor. The Farriers' Guild recalls the shoeing smith and the nailer, "Derby horse-nails" being a trade-term to this day. Later, the Belper nailers worked under Derby masters, who supplied them with rod-iron, showing that the trade at some period migrated to a district where there was no guild, and, consequently, no restrictions.

This expansion of trade under the Plantagenets is further shown by the erection of a new bridge over the Derwent about 1330. In 1326, King Edward II. remitted his share of the bridge-tolls for the repair of the old structure, and in 1328, the new King, Edward III., granted the same tolls for three years. Whether the bridge was rebuilt or repaired at this

time is not recorded, but it is certain that a new bridge was in existence at the end of that century, as shown by the style of architecture of the Bridge Chapel still existing. It is also significant that although no pontages or tolls for bridge repairs are recorded after 1329, the King, in 1383, permitted the town tolls to be used for paving purposes for seven years, a concession denoting increased traffic.*

At Swarkestone, also, in 1339, the King permitted the Bailiffs and men of Derby to collect the tolls for three years for the repairs of the bridge, a further pontage being granted in 1347, as the structure was still ruinous and broken.

There is little to show when the market was transferred from the Saxon Cheapside (St. Werburgh's Churchyard) to its present site, although the lawsuit of 1316 proves that the removal occurred before 1308, the Act forbidding fairs and markets to be held in churchyards, belonging to the year 1285. It is also significant that in 1290, King Edward I.

* Old St. Mary's Bridge, after doing duty for four centuries, was removed about 1790, although its remains still form an object of interest. The piers in the river's bed mark the direction of the seven small arches which carried the bridge in the direction of the road to Nottingham, and the ancient chapel still standing on the first arch, preserves the memory of those capitalists of the Middle Ages—the Church and the town Guild, and of the travellers, who made their offerings to the saint for protection against the dangers of the journey.

The religious convulsions of the sixteenth century affected this bridge-chapel, for in 1607, it is described as "neglected," and excepting a short period about 1662, when the Presbyterians used it as a meeting-house, it remained unnoticed until recent times, when the neighbouring church of St. Alkmund restored it to its ancient purpose. Of the corn-mills which stood on the bridge at the further end, no trace remains. The town history records that they were washed away by the river flood of 1587, together with the arch upon which they stood.

granted his share of the town tolls to be used for paving purposes for four years.*

It is possible to glean from the street names of the modern town of Derby a few details respecting the various trades congregated there during this period of expansion after the Conquest. The Rotten Row—the Norman “*Route du Roi*,” the “King’s highway”—indicates the main road through the town. Sadler Gate and Iron Gate point to two important trades of that day—the saddler and the smith, the workers in leather and in iron—for the craftsmen and artisans worked together in communities each in its own street or lane, and each governed by its special Guild or Brotherhood. In the two centuries following the Conquest, the work of the smith became sub-divided into several branches, amongst others, the armourer, who, after finishing the helmet or coat of mail, delivered it to the saddler, who lined it with leather to make the burden of such apparel less irksome.

Across the Market Place was Leather Lane, where along the brook side, the fell-mongers, tanners, and curriers, prepared the raw material for their brother-tradesmen in the Sadler Gate, amidst an odour which our modern niceness has long since refused to tolerate. The marshy nature of the ground lower down the stream is shown by the name Morledge—the “edge of the mere,” or lake—the wide basin of the Derwent in the neighbourhood still denoting its old character, when the Holmes—the “island” of

* A similar change took place at Northampton, when, in 1236, the market was removed from All Saints’ churchyard to a space behind the Drapery (the North Road), and at Leicester, the Saxon Cheap-side expanded in later times behind Gallowtree Gate (the North Road).

Saxon times—was surrounded by much broader streams than at present.* Passing to the higher ground along the river side, we find Full Street, a name preserving the memory of the "Fullers," or cloth-workers, who carried on the business of fulling and dyeing cloth, the former process being effected by a class of artisans who walked barefooted in the vats of cloth, and were on that account called "walkers." These people may have lived in Walker Lane, or "Walkers' Lane," as it is marked in Speed's map of 1610.†

Upon the outskirts of this medieval town dwelt the Jews, hated, yet indispensable to early trade, their settlement being preserved in the name Jury (Jewry) Street, answering to the Ghetto of Continental cities.

To turn from the practical side of life to the spiritual, we find, under the shadow of the principal church of All Saints', Amen Alley, where the mass-books and breviaries used by those ancient churchgoers could be purchased.‡ On the opposite side of the churchyard dwelt the secular priests of All Saints' in their common-house or college, preserved in the name, College Place. Across the brook, the Black Friars established themselves on Markeaton (vulgarily, "Mar'ton") Lane, known in our day as Friar Gate, although further west, where it has long since been abandoned for the present Ashbourne Road, it is still known by its old name.

* Compare the Mardol at Shrewsbury,—that is mere dale, the marsh in the dale by the Severn.

† In old Leicester records, "in Walker Lane" is rendered "in vicō fullonum" ("Fullers' Street"), now Soar Lane.

‡ Compare Amen Corner, near St. Paul's, London, or Paternoster Row, near the cathedral at Carlisle.

Crossing this Mar'ton Lane was the old Roman highway, which still formed a conspicuous feature in the landscape when Dr. Stukeley, the antiquary, passed through Derby in 1721.

Such names as Darley Grove, Green Lane, Park Street, and Grove Street imply that in those times the woodland came close to the town, and, save for the church towers, hid it from the view of the travellers. The streams intersecting streets and roads were crossed at fords, some of which were used until the nineteenth century,* and landmarks were difficult to find after nightfall or in bad weather. As late as 1634, four persons perished between Chaddesden and Derby in a heavy snowstorm, the highway being unenclosed. With such roads across open moors or through forests, where the brushwood left only a narrow passage, the benighted wayfarer welcomed the sound of the curfew-bell, which has continued to toll nightly from the tower of All Saints' down to our own day. Although its usefulness has long since disappeared, it probably connects us, in an unbroken record, with the stern rule of the Norman, when the Saxon reluctantly smothered his fire; with the primitive roads of the Middle Ages, when its sound guided the traveller; and with the eight o'clock bell, which for centuries announced to artisan and apprentice the welcome close of the day's work.†

* There was a ford across the Bramble Brook at the bottom of the Wardwick within living memory, foot-passengers being accommodated with a narrow bridge.

† In the names of Derby people contained in legal and ecclesiastical documents of successive periods, the change from the Saxon Christian name to the modern compound name can be traced through its various stages. In Domesday Book, the priests mentioned are Godwin and Osmer, and Hugh is the lord of the Manor.

Every tradesman worked with his apprentices in his shop, with its front open to the narrow street, the room behind constituting his home. If the house possessed a second floor or "solar," it was sometimes a much later addition to the original dwelling, this upper story being enlarged by a projection over the street on pillars, obstructing a thoroughfare already narrow, such a case being mentioned in the town complaint of 1276. With this limited domestic accommodation, with narrow streets and narrower by-ways, where every variety of noisome trade was carried on, the sanitary condition of the town was favourable for the ravages of plague and disease, although the noxious vapours might be mingled with the scents of malting and brewing houses. Certainly,

As population grew, persons having the same name became distinguished by their trade—as John le leche, or apothecary, murdered in Derby in 1330; John le bowyer; William le chapman, or packman; and Jordan le walker, who in 1338 contributed to a chantry at St. Peter's Church, and was probably a master fuller. A person might also be known by the name of the neighbouring town from which he migrated, as William de Chelaston, Sheriff in 1307; John de Crich, Walter de Shardlow, Simon de Nottingham, and others, who erected a chantry at St. Peter's Church in 1338; Roger de Luchirche (Litchurch), who was made master of the leper's house in 1327; and Hugo de Morleye and Thomas de Tamewurthe, who are mentioned in 1276. In the sixteenth century, the Norman "le" has disappeared; the descendant of Jordan le walker becomes plain Edward Walker in 1523, and Richard Colyar, churchwarden of All Saints' in 1491, probably followed a different business to that of his ancestor who made charcoal for the Derby smiths. Again in 1452, Richard Wright was one of the bailiffs, and in 1595, Edward Fletcher was a glover, although his ancestor was an arrowsmith. The Norman "de" has also disappeared from the names of William Marlage, churchwarden with Richard Colyar, and Roger Allestrye who was a townsman in 1664. Sixteenth century names, such as Rag, Tofte, Souter, Haryson, and More, which still claim representatives in our day, show that families remained in the town through many generations. Even in 1829, William Morledge, baker, is recorded as living at 6, Siddals Lane, almost within sight of the street where his ancestor doubtless dwelt some five or six centuries before.

the green fields and woods were close at hand, but the townspeople troubled themselves but little about sanitation, for the laws of health were a sealed book, only to be explained to their less robust descendants. In the town complaint before mentioned, it is stated that a certain burgess built a pigsty as an encroachment on the narrow street. Had he built it within his own ground, it does not appear that any offence would have been given, for he would only have been following the common example.

That it was customary to keep swine even in the crowded quarters of the town appears from a complaint made by the debtors confined in the gaol over the brook in 1690, where they state that the gaoler is accustomed, when the sty is flooded by a rise of the stream, to put his pigs, five or six, as may be, into the common room with the debtors, and that they have great difficulty in preventing them from coming into their cells.* Salted pork formed the staple meat

* See *The Cry of the Oppressed* (16 mo.), published by Moses Pitt, London, 1691, being a collection of complaints from the debtors in various prisons throughout the country. At Derby, the gaol had recently been enlarged to afford separate accommodation for debtors and felons, as required by a recent Act of Parliament. The debtors, however, complained that the Keeper of the Gaol, William Wragg, kept several rooms closed for years together, his object being, so they contend, to force them to lodge and board in his house, an arrangement by which he benefited to the extent of eight shillings a week. Further, the rooms which the debtors should have occupied were let by the gaoler to criminals who were in a position to pay him well for the accommodation, and the debtors were so crowded together in consequence, that in the cold weather, one-half of them were unable to find room to cook their food at the fire; yet the Keeper, on being remonstrated with, stoutly told them that he should provide no more room, "not even if there were three hundred of them."

Heated arguments and quarrels were common, and the language used on one side, according to this complaint (and on the other side, also, we should infer, reading between the lines), bore the coarse, Alsatian stamp of two centuries ago. The turnkey, Joseph Sherwin, threatened one

during the Middle Ages ; and the ravages of leprosy, of which Derby had its share, are considered to have been due to this food. Evidence of the town trade in swine is indirectly preserved in the local simile for snoring—"Driving pigs over Swarkestone Bridge," the reference being to the noise made by the herds of swine driven along a confined or narrow causeway.

In fair-time, these narrow streets and lanes were crowded with strangers and their merchandise, business being transacted there, and the chapman

Finney, who had sent a written complaint to the Sheriff, and given great offence in consequence, that he would "make him swallow his knife," and the debtors had also been locked in their rooms as a punishment. Accordingly this complaint of 1691 is signed Michael Laughtenhouse (Laughterhouse ?)—apparently a *nom-de-plume*, signifying the merriment of the debtors on puzzling the gaoler as to the identity of the offender. Another complaint was that debtors who had over-run their account for ale on the Keeper's books, were not allowed to send to public-houses in the neighbourhood where trust might be obtained and also better measure.

It appeared also that the Keeper naturally gave privileges to those debtors who were willing or able to pay for them, even to the extent of allowing them to spend most of their time at their own homes. It was a custom at Christmas-time for the debtors to choose a deputation to collect contributions throughout the town, but the Keeper had lately ignored this custom, and had appointed his favourites as collectors. These people furnished no account to their brethren, except such a one as transpired during the subsequent wrangling ; and, further, the money, instead of being handed directly to the debtors, was taken charge of by the Keeper's wife, who (so says the account) appropriated one-half of it, being at least four pounds, to her private use. Again, when the Earl of Devonshire passed by, about two years before, he left five pounds for the benefit of the debtors, who numbered about a score, but instead of receiving five shillings each they only received half-a-crown.

On the other hand, it appears that the gaoler complained that he could not always obtain the fees appertaining to his office, and other statements in the complaint suggest that if the Sheriff's report were extant, covering the depositions of gaoler Wragg and his spouse and of turnkey Sherwin, our condemnation of their conduct might be less severe.

Almost every inn-yard in Derby had its pig sty as late as "the forties" of last century. The "soldiers' room" of the Bell Hotel in Sadler Gate was directly over a spacious sty, in which half-a-dozen large swine, or more, had their quarters.

with his pack mingled with the merry-andrews and the ballad-mongers. The great fair of St. James, which lasted sixteen days, has already been referred to, being as important to the trading community as to the holiday apprentice and the craftsman.

As merchants from neighbouring towns came to do business at Derby fair, so their brethren of Derby carried merchandise to the fairs in the adjoining counties, and, still further, to the great fair of

+ Stourbridge, near Cambridge, where traders from every country in Europe came to sell and to barter. The pigs of lead from the Peak, and the sacks of malt for which Derby was famous, were transported on pack-horses or in wagons to the nearest navigable point on the Trent, Wilne Ferry, from whence they were taken by water to the great fair on the Cam.

As already shown, this steady growth of commerce was due in part to the decay of the feudal system, with its turbulent baronage and fortified castles, whereby the highways and waterways became more secure. As a consequence, the crafts of armourer and arrowsmith declined, and the farrier and nailer grew into prominence. The clumsy leathern dress of the earlier centuries gave place, generally, to woven fabrics, and the various trades in leather became limited, principally, to those of shoemaker and harness-maker.* In the list of Guilds which provided

† *Leathern apparel* was not confined to the men, women even wore head-gear of it, as appears from a rare tract in the writer's possession, entitled, "A Short Contention by way of a Dialogue . . . between the French-hood, Felt-hat, Beaver, and Black-bagge. London : Printed by J. O. for Andrew Kembe . . 1639," in which we are told that "[Hoods] are not all made of velvet, but some are of blacke cloath, and some of Leather, the legges of old Bootes will make good durable ones, for the Lady *Buffamachum* had such a *Hood* made of an old Boote."

candles before the altars in All Saints' Church, at the end of the fifteenth century, the Farriers' and Shoemakers' are mentioned, showing two of the trade communities of that period.

This change in the dress of the common people caused an increase in the number of weavers or websters, for although no mention is made of any guild of that trade, yet throughout the kingdom at large the exactions of the towns drove the workers beyond the boundaries, and the weavers, like the stockingers of a later period, worked generally in the surrounding villages, drawing their supplies of yarn from the country spinning-wheels. The weaver, however, brought his cloth to Derby to be fulled and dyed, and generally to the town market for sale.*

+ The great plague of 1349-76 also effected changes, political and economic, which encouraged village industry. Although no mention of this epidemic occurs in the borough annals, the ecclesiastical records show that two-thirds of the clergy of Derby died, besides the Prior of the Friary, the Prioress of the Nunnery, and the chantry-priest of St. Peter's; and it is inferred from these data that the mortality among the people in Derby and neighbourhood was as serious as in the country generally.†

* It is highly probable that a Weavers' Guild was among the Derby Companies, as a former public-house carried the sign of "The Weavers' Arms." Prior to the destruction of the Town Hall by fire, records of certain companies (minute books, rolls of members, etc.) were to be found mingled with the Corporation Archives, and, of course, were burnt along with them. This information was given to the writer by the late Mr. Charles Pratt, for many years the Borough Chamberlain.

† The Black Death, "the most terrible plague which the world ever witnessed, advanced from the East, and after devastating Europe, swooped, at the close of 1348, on Britain. Of the three or four millions who then formed the population of England, more than one-half were swept away in its repeated visitations."—GREEN.

✓ A historical relic which shows the frequency and dreadful character of these epidemics still remains in Derby—a portion of the cross which was made use of to protect the market people from infection. It was the custom at those times to hold a temporary market on the outskirts of the town, where the country people might dispose of their produce with the least danger of contracting the plague, this market being held at Derby, near the point where the Roman way crossed the road to Ashbourne, the wide street denoting its position to this day. Whether this market was instituted during the time of the Black Death, there is no record to tell, but as, in documents of 1483, the cross is called "the Hedles Cros," and "Broken Crosse," it is plain that it was in the same condition then as it is to-day.

Nor was this space used only as a market-place in time of plague. The Judges of Assize, travelling on circuit with their attendants, naturally objected to risk their lives by entering a town so infected, and the court was accordingly held in a tent erected near the Plague Cross. An entry of the year 1514 states that "Sir William Milnes, the Judge, was obliged to keep the Assize and County Court at the market cross." No reason is given, but the obvious explanation is that the plague was in the town. Another instance occurred as late as the year 1645, when "Derby being visited" (an euphemism for "the plague being in Derby"), the Assizes were held in the adjoining space "in Frier Yarde," the monks having vacated the place a century previously.

Although trade suffered only a partial stagnation at such times, the Black Death of 1349-76, by its

unusual severity, caused changes in the conditions of labour and of servitude, which were general and permanent. The scarcity of population, after the epidemic, caused a dearth of labour, which raised wages and created a condition of independence in the country; this gradually forced the farmer to throw much arable land into pasture, thereby increasing the supply of wool and, consequently, the number of weavers.

Throughout the fifteenth century, the gradual extinction of serfdom after the Black Death also increased the manufacture of hats, for the serf had gone bareheaded. The flat cap, the common head-gear of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, found employment for many in Derby, but the trade declined towards the beginning of the Tudor period, although Henry VIII. and Elizabeth both attempted its revival.* The cloth woven in and around Derby does not appear to have equalled in fineness that of Warwickshire, etc., for Sir Ralph Sadler, in his account of the household requirements at Tutbury Castle in 1585, mentions that coarse cloths could be brought by the Derby carrier, but that for finer fabrics he was obliged to send to Coventry.

The old restrictions which the Guild imposed upon the market in the fourteenth century, were repeated in later years in the unfair method known as "engrossing," by which a merchant or combination

* A very curious reference to head-gear is found in the tract (cited in a footnote to page 237), dated 1639: "The Flat-cap is laid too much aside, the Miniver-cap is almost forgotten, the Munmouth-cap is not in . . . request, the Corner-cap is not reverenced as it should bee, . . . the Blew-cap is almost confin'd to the North, under the antient Title of a Bonnet, the Leather-cap hath *lately* given way to the Sattin Cap," etc. The word "lately" used in this connection is noticeable.



HOUSE IN WARDWICK.

bought up the market stocks, to retail the goods at their own price ; or these people bought the stocks before they even came to market, a system of "forestalling" which robbed the town of its market-dues, and maintained uncertainty regarding prices and quantities.

The law, it is true, forbade both these practices, ordering that corn and provisions should be sold in open market ; although the frequent reminders to traders, calling on them to read these statutes, show that evasion was general. As early as 1339, many complaints were made of the forestalling of Derby market, and in 1577, the County Justices report the result of their efforts to restrict the engrossing of wool. Camden, in his description of Derby in 1607, is more explicit. "The wealth of this town," he says, "arises entirely from buying up corn, and retailing it to the people of the uplands (country people), and almost all the inhabitants (merchants) are forestallers of this sort." *

The method of engrossing (with which Camden evidently includes forestalling) consisted in buying large quantities of corn during a season of cheapness, and storing it, in the hope that the following year would prove a season of scarcity, when prices would rise, and the corn merchant, or "curmudgeon" (as he was termed by the common people), would make an undue profit. On the other hand, it has been shown that the great increase in sheep-farming under the Tudors, diverted much land from arable to pasture,

* Edward Leigh, M.A. (*England Described*, 1650), says :—"The wealth of this town consisteth much of buying of corn, and selling it again to the mountains : for all the inhabitants are a kind of Badgers."

and the quantity of corn having seriously declined, the price had risen. The engrossers in Derby in many instances were the maltsters, who naturally bought large stocks of grain when the price was low, and who, being numerous and wealthy, ruled the market; for in those days, the means of transit were slow and expensive, and famine might exist in one district whilst plenty abounded in another.

During the early centuries, famine and plague occasionally swept through the land, with direful results, and there is no reason for believing that Derby was more fortunate than its neighbours. We find that the first record of famine occurs in the bald statement of the year 1556, when "there was great dearth in corn in Derby," causing the price to rise beyond the reach of indigent people, as it continued to do at intervals, down to modern times.

Parliament periodically attempted to remedy this evil, but without avail. In 1534, they sought to encourage corn-growing by imposing fines on any landowners keeping more than two thousand sheep; and in 1597, a statute was passed forbidding maltsters to become burgesses—an act which struck at a number of influential people in Derby, where, on its repeal, seventy-five years later, twelve maltsters applied for the franchise. Again, in 1623, an effort was made to cope with the distress. In consequence of the scarcity of corn during the preceding winter, the price began to rise, whereupon Parliament ordered the authorities to take measures for the relief of the poor and commonalty. The Bailiffs consequently reported in March that they had taken note of all the corn in the town; had limited the quantities to

be used by the ale-house keepers for brewing; had arranged for a hundred and forty quarters to be sold weekly to the poor, below the market price; and had stipulated for the quantity to be brought to market. The quantity of barley used for malting, as already noticed, made a serious deduction from the common stock, but the maltsters were strongly suspected of adding the practice of engrossing to their legitimate business.

The statement of the Bailiffs regarding the ale-houses indicates that brewing also, was an extensive trade in Derby in those days. Camden and other writers also mention that the town was noted for its ale, which was sent as far as London, doubtless by water.*

Allied with brewing was the trade of the baker, another old Derby industry, for the ancient records of All Saints' inform us that in the fifteenth century the Bakers' Guild maintained the cost of altar-candles, and the legend that Dale Abbey was founded by a Derby baker, who lived in St. Mary's Gate, may fix the site of their trade as early as the thirteenth century. The "burgh mill" at the foot of this street, where the townsmen ground their corn, lends support to the legend, and the cucking-stool which

* "Darby-Ale" was the delight of London topers, and the theme of poets, when Dutch William reigned. A poem entitled, "The Paradice of Pleasure; or, an Encomium upon Darby-Ale," appeared in the year 1700, by way of answer to Ned Ward's "Satyr against Darby-Ale," described as "a Scurrilous Lampoon." From these pieces, it appears that clubs were formed, and held at "Darby Houses," for the enjoyment of this excellent liquor, a list of which occurs in the former production. The writer desires Bacchus to

"Tear the Grapes from off his Brow . . .
With no full Bowls of wine let him appear,
But *Darby-Ale*, Transparent, Lucid, Clear."

stood over the mill dam at this spot may, by the Act of 1266, have been originally erected for drenching fraudulent brewers and bakers. The proximity of this town mill further suggests that the name Bold Lane refers to the *bolting* mills.

The baking trade in Derby, previous to the seventeenth century, appears to have been only local, for, as Camden states, much of the corn passing through Derby market was sold to the country gentry, who baked their bread at home. In the account-book of Sheriff Rhodes, in 1591, the twenty scores of loaves for his retainers were brought from home, although "cates" or confectionery were bought in the town; but during the seventeenth century, a great improvement was effected in the mode of baking by the general use of yeast (barm), and Derby, with its numerous brew-houses, naturally became a centre for the baking of small table-loaves, which were supplied to the houses of the gentry, both far and near. These loaves were the hard-baked bread common at that period, which could be stored for some time without growing stale, and Woolley informs us (1712) that many bakers made fortunes by this local export trade.

Traffic grew considerably during the seventeenth century, the same authority stating that there were "a good number of coaches kept by the gentry of town and neighbourhood"; the streets of Derby were, however, still ill-paved, for a lady passing through about 1695 says that most of the goods were carried on sledges to prevent their being upset.

During the Tudor period, even so late as the time of Elizabeth, the roads around Derby were of a

primitive description. From Sir Ralph Sadler's account of the road between Wingfield and Derby, it appears that part of it was only a packhorse way, although the last few miles between Kilburn and Derby may have been a cartway to the quarries and coalpits for some centuries previous; for coal was worked in this district certainly as early as the fourteenth century, and a quarry at Little Eaton was the property of All Saints' in 1329. The road from Derby to Tutbury could have been little used for wheel traffic, for Sir Ralph observes that plate and other articles might be brought on horseback by the Derby carrier much cheaper than by cart, adding (perhaps with a recollection of his own rough experience a week before) that the trunk used for the purpose should be well lined with canvas, evidently to protect the articles in the jolting they must needs undergo.

From the position of the ancient shrine of St. Alkmund it seems to have been placed where the road to the bridge was crossed by the old way from the North, still known to the oldest inhabitant as Darley Groye, along which travelled, as late as Woolley's time, the trains of packhorses carrying pigs of lead from Wirksworth to Derby market. There was also considerable traffic over the Roman Street to Burton and Lichfield, along which the King occasionally passed with a crowd of courtiers and nobles, on his way to the royal castle of Nottingham; the bishop, with his staff of assistants, lay and clerical, making the tour of his diocese; or the merchant, with his packhorses from Coventry fair, or laden with salt from Droitwich.

The bulk of the Derby exports were sent southward; for manufacturing and trading England lay, in those days, almost wholly south of Trent. This traffic was along the Osmaston Road, leading to the bridge over the Trent at Swarkestone, which had long been under the control of the Derby Guild, for in the year 1275, a complaint was laid against the merchants of Melbourn for passing over the bridge without paying toll to the borough of Derby. The importance of this route is also made manifest by the Earl of Shrewsbury's arrangements in 1536 to stop the rebels of the North, when they threatened to march into the Midlands.

The traffic along the highway between Derby and Nottingham was also important, and Nottingham commanded the passage over Trent, down which much of the Derby produce found its way to the Humber, the two towns being intimately associated, both in their trade and in their political policy. The road leading westward from Nottingham was known as "Derbigate" certainly as early as 1301, and in 1376 the commons of the county of Derby joined with their neighbours in reporting to the Good Parliament the dangerous condition of the Trent bridge at Nottingham.

The great fairs in town and country were held during the summer and autumn months, when the roads were passable and the days long for travel. Coventry fair was held in June, the fair of St. James at Derby in August, and the greater fair at Stourbridge in September. With narrow ways, often passing through forests where the brushwood came close to the path, the danger from outlaws and

footpads was always imminent, and as late as the year 1511, the Bailiffs of Derby were ordered to make proclamation for the better enforcing of the Statute of Winchester, which demanded that the woods should be cleared for a distance of two hundred feet on either side of the highway, to prevent rogues from lurking there.

This primitive condition of the highways around Derby shows that the town was comparatively isolated from the country in general. It was still, as stated some centuries earlier, "*in regione Britanniae remota*" (in a remote part of Britain), and the old lay of the bells which sings :

"Fresh herrings come to town !
They stinken!"

may refer to its inland character, where fresh (unsalted) fish from the sea was decidedly stale by the time it reached Derby.*

As this isolation of the town tended to restricted markets, where prices were at the mercy of a few wealthy merchants, so in the borough government the same people attempted to monopolise the privileges which were the property of many of the burgesses.

The collective system of land tenure, by which

* Instance the old saying, "The Mayor of Northampton opens oysters with his dagger," the fish being so high by the time it reached the town, that His Worship held the dish at arm's length.

This remote situation of Derby stamped the people with an old-fashioned rusticity, long after the town had become a manufacturing centre. A Prussian clergyman travelling through the Mid-lands on foot in 1782, noticed that at Derby and in the surrounding villages the children began to bow civilly to him as he passed. At Duffield, where he stayed to dine, he was shown into the parlour of the inn instead of the kitchen, which, further south, was considered good enough for a traveller on foot,

each inhabitant of the town or village tilled his share of the common land, was still in force at the time of Domesday in many of the village communities, after it had practically disappeared from the towns. Derby is one of the few instances in which this ancient system existed, although in a mutilated form, for, as already noticed, Domesday states that of the two hundred and forty-three burgesses, forty-one possessed common land enough for twelve ploughs. Whether this division into landed, and landless, dated from the Danish settlement, or whether the privileged burgesses were the descendants of the original settlers in the town, is uncertain, but it is plain that even at this early date all the burgesses were not of equal rank; and although individual burgesses may have acquired this privilege during succeeding centuries, it is not probable that the whole of the burgesses, at any time after the Conquest, had a share in the common lands around the town. For four centuries, there is no record to show what changes occurred in the division of the town property, and it is only by an examination of the condition of affairs at the end of the fifteenth century that the movements which took place in the long interval can be conjectured with more or less probability.

During the Middle Ages, instances occur of individuals encroaching on the common lands, but no mention is made of any organised design by the Guild or other public body to rob its fellows: in fact, the crafts' guilds, into which the humbler artisans banded themselves, would have resisted such attempts; but as trade declined in the fifteenth century, the distinction between the few rich and the many poor

widened, and the old privileges became jeopardised. The townspeople previously mentioned collectively, as "burgesses," became distinguished as "burgesses and community," the "burgesses" representing the oligarchy, who ruled the "community" or common burgesses, and at intervals attempted to oust them from their ancient rights. The town lands, instead of being apportioned equally, were so divided that the best plots fell to the "burgesses," and the rest to the "community," old landmarks were quietly removed, and as boundaries became forgotten, strips of land called "intakes" were enclosed as private property, which had formerly been public.

The first recorded instance of this struggle for land in Derby belongs to the year 1495, when "the Bayley and Burgesses were presented for enclosing Chester Green, and were under a pain of court to throw it open." Here it appears that the "burgesses" (using the word in its restricted sense), acting with the bailiff, enclosed the Green for their advantage, and to the detriment of the greater part of the burgesses, who took action against them, and succeeded in regaining their rights.

Only one bailiff is mentioned in the above statement, although the town certainly possessed two from the time of Edward III., and in 1523, when a subsidy was granted to the King for four years, it was ordered that the collectors for Derby should be *the Bailiff*, John Porte, serjeant-at-law, and four substantial burgesses, all mentioned by name. The inference that the second bailiff occupied an inferior position at this period is further supported by the town record of 1568, which states that "in

this year the election was altered, and two were maintained in the vestry by the four-and-twenty." Judging by the changes which were taking place in neighbouring boroughs, this entry shows that for some period prior to 1568, a body of four-and-twenty self-elected burgesses enjoyed the privilege of electing one of the bailiffs, the second being elected by the remaining body of common burgesses; but in the year mentioned, this select council, feeling themselves strong enough to encroach further, proceeded to elect both officers, making the town government a strictly close corporation, by excluding the majority of the burgesses from the election.*

During the following century, little is heard of these troubles regarding the town lands, for the Reformation was the indirect means of adding largely to the borough property. The estates in land and buildings, which belonged to various churches and monastic houses in Derby, were appropriated by Henry VIII. at the Dissolution, but his daughter Mary, anxious to gain the friendship of the town towards her Romish policy, made a gift of much of the plunder to the burgesses. The large meadow in the Markeaton valley, which once belonged to the Nunnery, the estate on which the castle and its environs formerly stood (which appears to have

* Compare the state of affairs at Northampton in 1489, when the town petitioned Parliament on account of the "great confusion which had been caused at the elections, by the multitude of little substance, who oft in numbers exceeded others who were approved and decent persons," and it was decreed that in future the Mayor and Brethren should choose forty-eight discreet persons, who with the town officers, should elect the Mayor and Bailiffs for the ensuing year. A similar change took place in Leicester also in 1489.

been for centuries the property of St. Peter's Church), and the corn-mill at the foot of St. Michael's Lane, formed part of a gift, which appears to have earned the gratitude of the Derby townspeople; for it is stated on reasonable grounds that Queen Street and King Street were named in honour of Mary and her Spanish consort, a number of houses being built along the road, previously described as "the lane att Irongate ende."

In these religious changes, the town guilds, also, were swept away, with their altars, chantries, and private property, and the resentment caused by these confiscations was further aggravated by the county magistrates taking part in the town government, an innovation which met with strong disapproval from the burgesses, who jealously guarded the ancient privileges of their borough. Consequently, when, in 1539, the Derby lawyer records that "there was much confusion concerning Justices of Peace sitting in the Town Hall," we are to understand that the change met with high words and some opposition.*

In the year 1590, the old dispute concerning the common lands again burst into flame, when the burgesses took the law into their own hands, and "destroyed Edward Smith's corn in the Siddals."

* On the other hand, the suppression of the guilds freed the town from a yoke which hampered trade, although opposing elements had partially defied these monopolists for some time previous to their downfall. The transfer of several mills from the church to the townspeople and to private owners at this period, tended to the abolition of those privileges which had been the monopoly of the Burgh mill. The expansion of the baking industry during the seventeenth century was partly due to this advancement towards free trade, and the rapid growth of the stocking, glove, and silk industries, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, owed much to the fact that there was an open market.

The ancient system of cultivating these lands was for each burgess to have his portion allotted to him, on which he grew his crop of wheat, barley, or rye, which must be harvested by Michaelmas, when all fences were removed, and the common used for pasturage until the following Lady-day, when it was again enclosed, and made arable. One of the grievances incident to this method was that burgesses of influence disregarded these customs, and by neglecting to remove their crops at Michaelmas, prevented the land from becoming "common" at the recognised time—a grievance which Woolley hints existed as late as his day. Mr. Smith was a town official, and the burgesses forcibly removed the fences around his corn, which they trampled down and destroyed. In 1599, the four Chamberlains responsible for the unsatisfactory division of the common lands were expelled from office, although evidently without effecting any improvement, for in 1603 and 1604 further disturbances occurred, when the rioters began to remove the fences six or seven weeks before Michaelmas. On the second occasion, several burgesses were indicted at the Assizes, and sent to gaol—a rebuff which taught them to proceed more warily, for in the next year (1605), continuing their opposition, they kept within the law by impounding Mr. Needham's cattle for coming into the Siddals Cattle occasionally strayed beyond the bounds allotted to their owners, and Mr. Needham, either by accident or design, had encroached on his neighbour's pasture. In the Court records of the manor of Little Chester for the year 1642, Francis Gorse and others were

presented "for eating other men's grasse with their cattle," and were each fined twelve pence.

These riots were part of a widespread revolt against the enclosure of common lands which became general during the sixteenth century. They were evidently connected with the general rising of the people calling themselves "levellers," whose object was "to level and lay open the commons, without exercising any measure of theft or violence upon any man's goods or cattle." This movement assumed rather formidable proportions in the North Midlands in 1607, under one Captain Pouch, who, with some of his followers, was taken and executed. The insurrection aroused the attention of the Government to the miserable condition of the poor, through the periodical scarcity of corn, and some efforts were made to improve matters, although the substantial remedy was eventually found in the development of the mineral resources of the district.

To deal with these Derby rioters of 1604, it was necessary to summon county Justices of the Peace to form a special court; but a new charter obtained in 1611, enacted that the two bailiffs, with their predecessors in office, should in future act as justices for the borough—a concession which removed a long-standing grievance. The existence of the council of twenty-four was also recognised by this charter, although their powers were still challenged by the community, for in 1616 there was "great controversy over choosing bailiffs," and the statement of the following year that "two bailiffs were maintained by the company of twenty-four," shows that the encroachment of 1568 had not been

systematically maintained. Directly or indirectly, now by noisy opposition in the Common Hall, and now by more violent opposition in regard to the burgess lands, the commoners had still to be reckoned with, and the report of the bailiffs of the year 1623, indicates the efforts they were making to prevent famine, and that they were anxious to retain the good feeling of the community, their action being in strong contrast with that of the county magistrates.

In the year 1637, the government of the town was re-modelled. Instead of the Bailiffs, who had done duty for some four hundred years, the ruling body was henceforward to consist of a Mayor, Aldermen, Brethren, and Capital Burgesses, the arrangement being a compromise, intended to satisfy the two classes into which the community had become divided. The Brethren and Capital Burgesses were to number fourteen each, but the former were to be self-elected, by which the power was still retained by the old oligarchy, whilst the latter represented the community.

This partly representative government worked more satisfactorily than the ancient system; the details of a dispute which arose some thirty-six years later showing that an attempt was made to settle the matter justly. In 1673, a number of suits were brought against Mr. Mellor, of Babington House, who had enclosed part of some common lands, known as Little Field and Castle Field. The burgesses, however, were not satisfied with the result of the litigation, for in the August of the following year, a crowd of apprentices, journeymen, and other tradesmen, pulled down many of the fences which

enclosed these "intakes," and made a bonfire of them, and, in consequence, three county gentlemen were chosen as arbitrators to settle the dispute.

Since then, occasional outbreaks of little moment have occurred, but a new era of manufactures and steady wages was beginning, and population grew, partly by a slow influx of strangers, among whom the freeman became a privileged person, enjoying the bounty of the Mayor and of the Borough Members. Nevertheless, during the eighteenth century, the Corporation estates were often manipulated in a manner which would not bear investigation, and a mass of information was laid before the Commissioners of 1833, showing that strong disapproval existed on the question.

Under the close Corporation which ruled the town until 1835, no public account of revenues from town lands was rendered, and much suspicion was engendered. The town property is said to have "been continuously wasting" during that period, and Hutton slyly remarks that as it consisted of fifty-four estates, it was a difficult matter to watch it all. Glover (or, rather, his editor, Mr. Noble) goes further, and hints that the Castle Field, which Mr. Mellor encroached upon, was "conveyed" in a mysterious manner to the Borough Recorder in the reign of George II., and when sold in 1822, realised £22,000.

The gradual transfer of the State Executive from the King to his Cabinet, which began in the reign of Charles II., and became established under the rule of the Georges, gave rise to the scandal of pocket-boroughs, by which the nobility controlled the votes of members in the House of Commons, and

maintained their party in office, or assisted them to oust their rivals. The Duke of Devonshire, whose political influence grew from the time of the Reformation, was one of the bulwarks of the Whig or Country party, and Derby became a pocket-borough in his nomination. Election contests occasionally occurred, as when some county family of the opposite party ventured to cross swords with the Cavendishes, but, in the main, the Whig interest prevailed. In 1742, the ancient family of the Poles of Radbourn tried issues with them, and, being worsted, challenged the election, on the ground of undue influence. Consequently, on April 3rd, the Mayor and several Aldermen set out for London from the George Inn by coach, many of the burgesses having started a week earlier, probably by the stage wagon, which, travelling leisurely, slept every night by the way. The affair, however, ended in a fiasco, for a messenger met the travellers at Market Harborough with the news that Mr. Pole had withdrawn his petition.

In the election of 1774, already noticed, the losing party again petitioned, and as the matter was examined this time before a Parliamentary Committee, a mass of information came to light. At this election, Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Gisborne, the Devonshire nominee, were returned, the Tory candidate, Mr. Daniel Parker Coke, being defeated by fourteen votes.

It appeared that it was customary, on the eve of an election, for the two parties to seek out all those townsmen who were eligible as burgesses, and to secure their influence at the same time that their

names were added to the burgess-roll. The Mayor, Mr. Heath, a banker, was said to have made himself particularly energetic in the Devonshire interest, one witness stating that His Worship solicited his vote at the Queen's Head Inn, and hinted that there would be a distribution of the town's money among their friends after the election.*

Moreover, when the Mayor should have been attending Common Hall for the swearing-in of burgesses, he was conducting the sons of the Duke of Devonshire around the town, soliciting votes. A graver charge against him was that he held a Common Hall, at which sufficient burgesses were enrolled to secure the election of the Whig candidate, but that he refused to admit the eligible townsmen brought forward by the opposite party. Mr. Heath, on cross-examination, proved to have a bad memory, but appears to have been guilty of charges which, unscrupulous as they may appear in our day, merely reflected the political morals of the time. He may have been in money difficulties (he was a bankrupt about four years later), and the office of Mayor was worth two hundred guineas a year, not to mention secret-service money. The charge of bribery and corruption was considered as proved, and, in the end, the Devonshire nominee, Mr. Gisborne, was unseated, and Mr. Coke was elected in his stead.

* This was a fund invested with the Corporation for assisting young burgesses on commencing business. Before the Commissioners in 1833, it was stated to be a thousand pounds, to be lent in sums of twenty-five pounds without interest for ten years, to young men, freemen of the borough, although none had been used for that purpose for many years.

Some sidelights on the social life of Derby at this period are furnished by the witnesses examined at this trial. They included every grade in the society of the town, from the gentry of the neighbourhood—the Wilmots and the Harpurs, who organised the Tory opposition—down through the mayor, town clerk, parish clerk, tradesmen of all descriptions—butchers, hatters, framework knitters, tile-makers and lapidaries—to the idle apprentice, Sam. Johnson, who ran away to Nottingham before five years of his apprenticeship were served. He returned penniless to Derby on the eve of the election, with the object of joining the freemen and selling his vote, but his hopes were frustrated, for being a pauper, he was unable to advance the town clerk's fee, and was rejected.

According to the evidence of other witnesses, this fee, paid for enrolment, had recently been appropriated by a late mayor, Mr. Eaton, although he was afterwards obliged to refund it. The loose method of admitting burgesses was made apparent by the evidence of this gentleman, who admitted that he held several Common Halls during his term of office, at which he alone was present, for the purpose of enrolling burgesses. The custom down to 1772, was to call a Common Hall of twenty members, but in that year it was agreed that such a court for admitting burgesses might consist of the Mayor and three Aldermen. Mr. Eaton, however, went a step further, and erected himself into a Common Hall. From the evidence of Mr. Lockett, town clerk since 1765, who evidently resented this action of the Mayor, it appeared that counsel's

opinion was taken, after which this innovation was stopped. Mr. Eaton was emphatic in declaring that he "did not get a pin by it," that "the money was in a window to be ready" when the persons called for it, after the system was declared illegal, but he further admitted that some did not call.*

Reading between the lines, it is plain that the Whig interest ruled in the town, and that the burgess list was kept safe for that party. The opposition made a great effort before this election to reverse the order of the day, about four-and-twenty candidates for the burgess-ship being taken in a body to the Town Hall by Sir H. Harpur, Edward Wilmot, Esq., and several other gentlemen, at an hour when the Mayor and Corporation were known to be assembled in Common Hall, and their enrolment demanded. As related by the various witnesses before the Committee in London, the scene which followed was somewhat exciting. Mr. Grainger, the Corporation steward, was with the Council when this surprise visit took place, who, in a high-handed manner, questioned the right of the deputation to be present, saying "if he

* That loose views prevailed on the question of bribery appeared from the evidence of John Cook, who informed the Committee that he was "for free and voluntarily," but he told the Mayor "he must consider his interest like the gentlemen," and had sounded both parties as to the price of his vote.

Another local worthy was Samuel Pratt, parish clerk at St. Peter's for a quarter of a century, who produced the baptismal register to prove claims to the franchise by right of birth. He was somewhat disconcerted by a discrepancy between his book and a copy retained by the parish curate, and at length admitted that he must have altered a name from Wedgeworth to Wedgewood, an indiscretion exaggerated by the opposing counsel, to whom Mr. Pratt was emphatic in denying any pecuniary motive, for he "always said that the hand that takes a bribe ought to be cut off."

had any command there, they should not stay there"; but on being overruled by the Town Clerk, he bounced out of the room in a passion. The deputation continued to press their suit, their followers crowding at the door, and threatening to overflow the room. The Mayor tried to temporise by pleading the amount of business before him, and proposing to put off the swearing-in to the next meeting. The deputation, suspecting some such subterfuge, came prepared with all legal requisites, and complained of the trouble of beating-up their forces a second time. The Mayor still refused to yield, and perceiving that he was distrusted by the company, carried the day by a *coup d'état*. Placing his hand on his breast, he exclaimed, "Gentlemen, do you doubt my honour? You shall be admitted!" whereupon the crowd was satisfied, and withdrew.

In the sequel, however, John Harrison stated that on the day appointed, he waited half-an-hour at the Town Hall for the Mayor, and then found him canvassing in Full Street, as already stated. He beckoned his Worship across the street, and reminded him of his promise, but was informed that he had changed his mind, and had decided to admit no more before the election, because he found that he had been imposed upon, and had admitted candidates on false credentials.

With such powerful influences, it is not surprising that the Whig candidates were generally elected without opposition. Occasionally, the members, on passing through Derby, would meet the gentlemen of the town at dinner, and "render an account of

their stewardship," and at election times the usual official advertisement from the Sheriff appeared in the local newspaper, respecting the nomination of candidates, followed in the same issue by letters of thanks from the Whig members, duly elected without opposition. For thirty years previous to the Reform Bill of 1832, there was no Parliamentary contest in Derby, the Whigs maintaining their supremacy by occasionally asking the Duke to nominate some of his tenants as faggot-voters, and so preventing the number of Whig freemen from "getting low," a course which "kept the Tories quiet."*

It was hardly to be expected, therefore, that the old system of bribery at elections, which the freemen regarded as one of their privileges, would disappear suddenly with the advent of reform, for among the artisan and poorer classes the freeman was still the only burgess possessing a vote. Consequently, bribery, which had become almost unknown in Derby, owing to the absence of political contests, became rampant after 1832, for in the exposure which followed the election of 1852, a Select Committee of the House of Commons reported that "an organised system of bribery had been carried on in

* In the year 1806, the Whig Party created 124 honorary freemen, and in 1819, a further batch of 132 voters. It was stated before the Commissioners, in 1833, that the Corporation, whenever they thought their influence "getting low," applied to the Duke's agent for a list of persons to be admitted to the freedom "in the Cavendish interest." His Grace's agent paid the admission fees on such occasions. Without the creation of such freemen, it was said that "the Corporation could not have kept the Tories quiet; they would have been restless!" The witness, who frankly gave this information, became agent to the Duke of Devonshire in the year 1818. [See Stevens' and Merewether's *History of Boroughs*, 1835.]

“the borough” during several elections, the price of votes varying from one pound to three.

During the latter election, an agent of the Government candidate turned traitor, and informed the opposition of the bribery which was being secretly practised by the party which had trusted him. The chairman of the opposition committee forthwith proceeded, with several policemen in plain clothes, to the County Tavern, where, having followed the instructions of placing their fingers on their lips, and giving the password, “It’s all right, Radford sent us,” they were enabled to reach the “Man in the Moon,” who was discovered with three hundred pounds in gold and notes, and with a list of voters, whom he admitted had already been bribed. A discreditable item in the affair was that one of the notes was traced to the Secretary for War, who was subsequently censured by the Committee of Inquiry.

The extension of the borough franchise in 1867 practically destroyed the election privileges of the resident freemen, almost the only advantage they now possess over their fellow-burgesses being a very slight interest in the common lands of the borough.

The trade of the town, which continued growing and extending during the Stuart period, was destined, during the eighteenth century, under the management of Lombe, Strutt, and Duesbury, to change Derby from a small town of four thousand people, mainly dependent on its market and its gentry, to a centre of trade, whose mills and factories excited the interest and admiration of the passing traveller.

At the close of the seventeenth century, the

business of malting was still prominent, there being seventy-six malthouses in Derby in 1693, and it still maintained its reputation for ale. The manufacture of gloves points to the existence of many rich people in the town, without the well-known observation of Defoe, who, passing through about 1720, described it as "a town of gentry rather than trade." The ancient lead traffic also continued, but the rich stores of coal and iron in the vicinity were little used. House-coal was carted into the town from Denby, at a cost of fourpence per hundredweight or less, but iron smelting by coal was still in its infancy. The bakers' ovens were heated with wood, large stacks of faggots being kept at the bakeries, not without danger from fire, as the town records show.

An ingenious contrivance erected about 1692 was the town's water supply. A wheel in the Derwent pumped water into a cistern on St. Michael's Church, from whence it was delivered through pipes laid under the streets. These were elm trunks, bored by power obtained from the same wheel that pumped the water, and which also ground corn, continuing at work when the river was in flood, and all other wheels were submerged and useless; for this native genius, Sorocold, had fixed his wheel in a frame, which rose and fell with the river.

The houses of the gentry, standing on the verge of the town, were conspicuous to travellers entering by the highways, the few examples now remaining showing their substantial and picturesque appearance. Of these may be noticed the Stuart mansion in the Wardwick; Babington House, lately demolished;

and a number of early Georgian houses in Friar Gate and St. Mary's Gate.

A description showing the gradual improvement of the cottage dwellings during the seventeenth century is contained in a quaint manuscript history of the Creswell family, which dwelt in Little Chester for several generations. Early in the Stuart period, one George Creswell, a blacksmith, built himself a cottage, the frame of timber, the spaces being filled with wickerwork smeared over with clay, the floors of bare earth, and a few boards forming an attic or storehouse under the thatch. His son Robert, on his return home about 1660, after serving in the Civil War, improved the dwelling by substituting brick for the "wattle and daub," and by forming plaster-floors in the rooms. He also altered the second story into a sleeping chamber. During the next generation, his son George extended the dwelling by building a new house, with "seller, parler, and chamber," contiguous with the old structure, covering the whole with a new thatch.*

The cap manufacture, which declined under the Tudors, and also the local weaving trade, were allied with the hand-knitting industry which prevailed throughout the North Midlands, principally as worsted hose, the wool of the Sherwood Forest sheep producing a superior yarn for the purpose. It was in the midst of this industry that William Lea invented the stocking-frame in 1589, although forty

* The class of dwelling occupied by the working population of Derby in Woolley's day may be still seen in Mr. Greensmith's yard in Queen Street, the date 1710 being inscribed on the corner-stone of the cottages.

years elapsed before it began to compete successfully with hand-knitting. It is uncertain at what date the stocking-frame came to Derby, but as Woolley states that in his day there was a "considerable manufacture of stockings" in the town, it had evidently been then established for a number of years. In 1750, there were two hundred frames in the town, besides many scattered in the surrounding villages, for it is reported that one Roper, of Locko, a framework knitter or repairer, had succeeded in making the "ribbed" or elastic hose, at that time being sought after. The trade was at a low ebb, partly owing to the slack method of teaching apprentices, and also because each man worked at home, loose habits being engendered, and bad work the result. Consequently, the silk hose imported from France commanded the market, and English workmen were accustomed for some years to fraudulently stamp their work with the word "Paris."

It was at this juncture, that William Woollatt, a hosier of Derby, suggested to his brother-in-law, Jedediah Strutt, the advantages of a machine which should automatically produce ribbed hose. Mr. Strutt, although not connected with the commercial world, set to work on the task, and eventually produced an independent machine, which, when attached to the old stocking-frame, regulated its movements on the principle afterwards elaborated in the Jacquard loom. Its success was complete, and from 1759 to 1773, when their patent expired, Woollatt and Strutt enjoyed the monopoly of the invention, the popularity of the Derby ribbed hose being shown by the necessity for protecting their rights. The Derby

hosiers, amongst others, combined to manufacture the ribbed hose without acknowledgment, until the result of a lawsuit compelled them to pay a royalty. Several improvements effected during this period, although infringements, extended the local trade, and were, consequently, suffered by Strutt to continue without molestation. This manufacture of silk hose was confined principally to Derby, where some of the best ribbed work, known as "elastics," commanded the high wages of thirty shillings per week. These elastics were used largely as surgical bandages, and it is noteworthy that this branch of the trade still survives in Derby, indiarubber now supplying the elasticity of the old ribbed work.*

In 1771, Strutt further increased his fame by taking Arkwright, the inventor of the cotton-spinning machine, into partnership. He soon conceived the idea of weaving calico wholly of cotton, instead of with linen warps, as was then the Lancashire custom, and in 1775, he erected in Derby the first fireproof mill in England, where he proceeded to carry out his plan. For a time, it was a question whether the cotton-weaving industry was destined for Manchester or for Derby, although the more favourable situation of Lancashire ultimately prevailed, for Manchester was nearer the cotton port of Liverpool, towards which Brindley was then carrying his first canal, an

* Mr. Henry Clark, late of Derby, states (August, 1905) that between the years 1840-45 he permitted a person named Taberer to set up a stocking-frame at his lodging in the suburb of Dunkirk, where he eventually succeeded in manufacturing india-rubber web stockings. Taberer first attempted to dispose of his invention to Mr. Holmes, a manufacturer in Derby, but afterwards arranged to teach the process to the workpeople of Mr. Longdon.

advantage which Derby did not enjoy until twenty years later. The Derby trade, though surpassed, has not, however, been extinguished, and Strutt's cotton mills have been associated with the Derwent valley down to the present time.

About the time when the hosiery trade was being transferred from London to the Midlands, John Lombe established the industry of silk-throwing at Derby. Originally of Norwich, but later of London, he saw that the Spitalfields silk-trade was declining before the superior methods of the Italians. Lombe, "whose head was extremely well turned for the mechanics," accordingly proceeded to Leghorn, where he eventually succeeded in obtaining drawings of the Italian machinery. The story is well known of his simulating poverty, of his ingratiating himself with the father confessor of the family of a silk manufacturer, of his obtaining a lowly post in the mill, where he secreted his candles and his drawing instruments in a recess under the stairs, in which he was supposed to sleep, although he passed part of the night in accomplishing his real purpose.

Having succeeded in his design, he lost no time in putting his knowledge into practice. The silk hose, along with the hosiery trade generally, was migrating to the Nottingham district, where Lombe followed it. The Derwent, with its swift stream, offered better facilities for water power than the sluggish Trent, and consequently Derby was preferred to Nottingham; John Lombe setting up machines in the Town Hall and in other rooms, whilst the mill slowly rose on an islet in the Derwent, the contriving

and erecting of the machinery being the work of Sorocold, the mill-wright.*

There was an earlier attempt made by one Crotchet, in 1702, to establish silk-throwing in Derby, a small mill having been erected on the same islet on which Lombe's mill was built, but lack of capital and of enterprise led to failure. John Lombe obtained a patent for fourteen years in 1718, and enjoyed a monopoly of the trade until his death in 1722. In 1732, Thomas Lombe, a cousin of John, and his successor, petitioned Parliament for a renewal of the expired patent, but the manufacturers of woollen, cotton, and linen, opposed it, as they wished to utilise the invention, and the Government eventually compromised the matter by granting the petitioner fourteen thousand pounds, and conferring knighthood upon him. William Hutton, who was an apprentice at the mill at this time, took part in the rejoicings which followed this memorable affair.

New mills then arose in and around Derby, but all were small in comparison with Lombe's. Three years later (1735), Sir Thomas endeavoured to introduce American silk, produced in Georgia under the patronage of the founder of that State, General Oglethorpe. According to Hutton, the silk, although of a bad colour, was good in quality, and Queen Caroline, being waited upon by the General and Sir Thomas, ordered a "gown and petticoat" to be made for her. The experiment, however, was not

* The old silk mill was recently demolished, but the entrance gates of hammer-work, surmounted by the initials "T. L.", are still in existence, constituting one of the historic features of the town.

a success, and the production of this silk in Georgia was afterwards abandoned for cotton.

Sir Thomas, who died in 1739, and left a fortune of little less than £120,000, appears to have had regard for his workpeople, for in his will he desired his widow to reward the principal servants at the mill to the extent of five or six hundred pounds.

The process was regarded as a wonderful invention, the mill being one of the sights of the town, usually visited by strangers passing through. In 1783, it gave employment to about two hundred persons, who, on the day following Michaelmas, were accustomed to make merry with the contributions of visitors. An ox was roasted and eaten with the town ale, the mill windows were illuminated with candles, and the inhabitants were invited to view the festivities, and to contribute to the fund for the following year.

Another manufacture which earned lasting fame in the annals of Derby is that of porcelain, established by Duesbury about 1755. Coming to Derby, he associated himself with John Heath, the proprietor of the pot-works on Cockpit Hill, and also with a maker of small china figures in Lodge Lane, said to have been a French refugee named Andrew Planché. Nothing is heard of him later, and Heath becoming bankrupt about 1780, Duesbury held the field alone.

By this time, he had established an extensive business, for as early as 1763, large consignments were regularly sent to his London sale-rooms. In 1770, the Bow and Chelsea china-works came into the market, and Duesbury became the proprietor of both, transferring the plant, with the best of the

workmen, to Derby, but continuing the Chelsea works until about the year 1784. He also obtained the patronage of the local gentry and nobility; the Duke of Devonshire, with the beautiful Duchess, often visited the factory, and King George III. and his Queen succeeded in making Derby china fashionable.

William Duesbury, the founder, died in 1786, being succeeded by his son of the same name, who died ten years later, his health having given way some years previously. Finding the business too burdensome, he took into partnership a clever miniature painter from London named Michael Kean, who continued the business after Duesbury's death, and married his widow. Her eldest son, also named William, was only ten years of age at this time, but although later he showed capacity as an artist, he took no active interest in the china factory.

Partly on this account, the reign of the Duesburys came to an end in 1809, when the factory was offered for sale, and purchased by Robert Bloor, a salesman under Duesbury and Kean, who arranged to pay annuities to the family and five thousand pounds in instalments. Like an energetic business man, he at once set to work to make money. Good work was produced, the celebrated "biscuit ware" being at the height of its excellence at this time, but work of an inferior class was also put on the market in the shape of "seconds," which had accumulated on the works during the "Duesbury period," and were used up by Bloor, whose artists finished them in slight but striking patterns, to furnish stock for his auction sales in different

parts of the country. Nevertheless, this enterprise for a time extended the work of the factory, the number of people employed having grown from about seventy in 1790 to two hundred in 1817; the number in 1832 being some hundred and eighty men, women, and boys.

Unfortunately, Mr. Bloor's mind gave way, and until his death, in 1846, the business was entrusted to a paid manager, who was by no means equal to its control. It consequently declined, and in 1849 the works were closed.

To-day, "Old Crown-Derby" possesses a growing value among connoisseurs, and the pieces representing the best efforts among the workmen gathered there during the first sixty years of its existence are prized as works of art. The Duesburys, father and son, combined capacity for business with wise tact in permitting their people to exercise their genius after their own fashion, and the result was a variety of work showing the individual power of each artist. There was Billingsley, the flower-painter, born in Derby in 1758, whose rose borders are admired for form and colour, as shown in the "Prentice Plate," now preserved in the town museum; Boreman, who came from Chelsea to Derby for two guineas per week, on the closing of the works there, and whose centre-pieces of Derbyshire views show him to have been a master in his art; and Pegg, the eccentric Quaker, who, after producing work which stamps him as a genius, convinced himself that his art was sinful, and was contented to withdraw to a huckster's shop a few yards from the factory, and to live in comparative penury. In the museum may

be seen the "Thistle dish," painted from a flower picked up casually on Nun's Green, and the "Snap-dragon," two pieces representing the artist's manner.*

Among several generations of artists who did work of lasting merit were Withers, Wheeldon, Bamford, Leonard Lead, and Lovegrove. John Haslem, who was a nephew of Robert Bloor's manager, Thomason, and who wrote a history of the factory, worked there as boy and man for thirteen years; and John Hancock, an apprentice in its early days, was succeeded by his grandson, Sampson Hancock, who conducted the small china factory in King Street, connecting the period of the old works with that of the new establishment on the Osmaston Road.

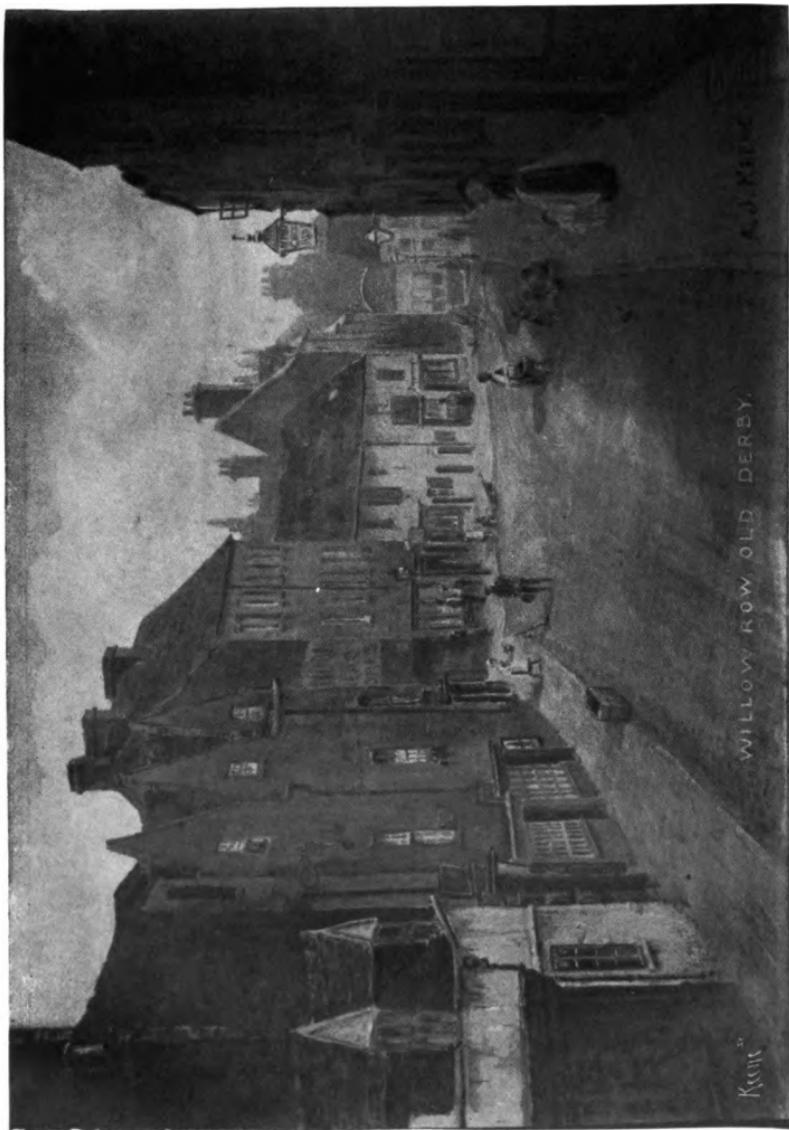
These workmen, earning good wages at an artistic employment, were naturally an educated and independent set, paying little deference to those class distinctions which were a strong social feature in Derby. Consequently, the True Blue Club, in 1813, desiring a piece of china to grace their club-room, passed by the Derby workmen, whom they regarded as a "set of radicals," and gave the order to the rival manufactory at Worcester. On the passing of the Reform Bill, the enthusiasm of the people at the china-works led them to present two vases to the King, the inscription being prepared by the Congregationalist minister, Mr. Gawthorn. The affair, however, ended somewhat tamely, for being of a political character, the King declined to receive them,

* In the advertisement of the sale of the household effects of Mrs. Bloor, in Osmaston Street, in 1837, many articles of Derby china are mentioned, including some vases painted by Pegg.

Willow Row.

WILLOW ROW OLD DERBY.

Kent



and they were afterwards sold for the benefit of the subscribers.

Amid this healthy growth of trade, the old restrictions and monopolies occasionally asserted themselves in a modified form, even so late as the end of the eighteenth century. In 1712, the burgesses of Leicester ordered one George Bent to sue the burgesses of Derby for taking his heifer as toll on a herd of cattle passing through the town, but the Derby men do not appear to have made restitution; for, two years later, the burgesses of Leicester agreed to pay John Ludham thirty shillings, for two pigs of lead taken from his father by the town of Derby for toll. At length, it became apparent that these petty restrictions on trade damaged the market, and in 1792, the Derby burgesses in Common Hall decided that all the ancient tolls known as passage, piccage, scavage, and others, should be abolished. The country people, however, interpreted this change as a general abolition of tolls, and some confusion was experienced on the following market-day, when they found that the change did not apply to the usual toll for stall-room.

An earlier revival of the old monopoly occurred in the year 1674, when the tradesmen of Derby, either ignorant or forgetful of the damage wrought against the town trades by the medieval guilds, formed themselves into a Mercers' or Traders' Company, after the "laudable practice" of London and other cities and towns. Ostensibly, its purpose was to maintain a standard of honest dealing and good workmanship in the town, but in reality, it was a "ring" or combination, formed by the

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tradespeople to prevent "strangers" (non-burgesses) from commencing business in the borough. The executive, which figured with their beadle in gowns and cloaks on state occasions, was really a sub-committee of the Town Corporation, and the society differed little in composition and function from its progenitor of the Middle Ages. It enacted that no man, on the completion of his seven years' apprenticeship, should commence business in the borough without the consent of the Company, and that no stranger should commence business unless he received their permission, and paid a composition or acknowledgment. Consequently, in 1676, a stranger paid eight pounds to be allowed to trade as a felt-maker; the widow of a deceased tradesman paid for permission to continue the business; and in 1700, John Oates paid five pounds to enter into business, he having married a grocer's widow. The millinery trade was at this period becoming a woman's business, as is shown by several women compounding with the Company. In 1680, Elizabeth Alsop paid five pounds for this purpose, and Anne Wathall paid "twenty nobles," but their apprentices were not to be allowed the ordinary privilege of setting up in trade. In course of time, however, strangers began to ignore the Mercers' Company by quietly opening a business, and leaving the Company to take legal proceedings to recover the composition.

This pernicious system not only destroyed a free market, but tended to prevent the entrance of new industries. Whitehurst, the famous clockmaker, came to Derby as a stranger from Congleton about

1735, and opened a shop, but it was objected that he was not a freeman, and in the end, he was obliged to arrange the difficulty by fixing a clock at his own expense in the Guildhall. Had his business been closed, the advantage which the skill of this clever workman gave to the town for forty years would have been lost. The last recorded prosecution of the Company is under date 1732, and as the minute-book contains no record later than the year 1740, it is presumed that its active powers had become defunct at that date.

Another instance showing the result of a vexatious interference with the natural course of trade occurred about 1720, in the migration of the frame-knitting from London to the North Midlands. Lea and his relations established the trade in the Metropolis, and the London hosiers, holding the false doctrine that high prices could be maintained by limiting the output, obtained a charter, and proceeded to enforce restrictions. Consequently, many master-hosiers began to remove into the country, and then the London company, not to be beaten, followed the emigrants, and instituted legal proceedings at Nottingham. The gentry and traders of the North Midlands next exerted the weight of their influence against the company, and in the end, the London trade seriously declined.

On the other hand, when a stranger established some industry which did not interfere with any existing trade, no objection was made. Lombe set up the silk business, being rather encouraged than opposed, and Duesbury came to Derby from the

Staffordshire potteries, where opposition to any novelty in their staple trade was not unusual.

The growth of these, and of other commercial undertakings in the town and neighbourhood, caused a demand for better communications, the only means of carriage, besides the roads, being by the Derwent and Trent to Gainsboro'. Further, the growth of manufactures in the northern counties during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries caused a corresponding increase in the amount of traffic, and Derby, lying on the highways between Manchester and London and between Leeds and Birmingham, became one of the changing stations for the wagons and coaches on those roads.

In 1735, Derby came into touch with the metropolis by the coach, which commenced running from the George Inn every Thursday. By the year 1790, the coach from the "George" (now a through coach from Manchester) ran daily to London, leaving Derby about three in the afternoon, and reaching the metropolis at ten the next morning. This was, perhaps, the diligence described in Canning's distich—

"So down' thy hill, romantic Ashbourne, glides
The Derby Dilly, carrying three insides."*

An opposition coach was at the same time announced to leave the Bell Inn three times a week, which, taking matters more leisurely, "sleeps at Leicester," reaching London at eight the next evening.

Stage wagons became common between London and the Midlands as early as Elizabeth's reign, yet

* This quotation is from Canning's "Love of the Triangles," and was thus printed in the *Anti-Jacobin*.

the packhorse held its ground north of Trent, even until the middle of the eighteenth century, and many of these trains, mingling with the wheel traffic further south, carried their loads through, even as far as London. Defoe, in his account of Stourbridge fair, about 1720, states that a thousand horse-packs came from Lancashire and Yorkshire with cloth, the return loads of these horses being mostly hops, which they carried to Derby and other ale-making towns of the Trent valley. This load was exchanged at Derby and neighbourhood for malt, which the packhorses carried home into Lancashire, a traffic mentioned by both Defoe and Woolley.

The inns in Derby, both during the use of pack-horses and the subsequent employment of heavy wagons, provided room for many horses, the Angel Inn, in the Corn Market, in 1693 and also in 1746, possessing stabling for sixty. Large teams were used with the heavy wagons, as shown in an advertisement of 1763, which mentions the Nottingham and Birmingham wagons passing up and down through Derby weekly, each with nine horses. About 1790, these heavy wagons were giving place to lighter and quicker vehicles, an advertisement of that year announcing that the old London and Derby stage wagon, with wheels nine inches broad, and seven horses, "which had been established a great number of years," was to be sold at the Red Lion Inn.

About 1793, it was proposed to bring the canal system to Derby, and as this had already proved to be of great advantage to the trades of Lancashire and Staffordshire, the scheme was readily adopted by the capitalists of the town and neighbourhood.

The canal to Little Eaton would facilitate the carriage of coal, whilst a branch to the Trent would open communication with Liverpool, by the Trent and Mersey canal, thus lowering the cost of carriage to about one-half for the heavy iron castings sent out by the Butterley ironworks, and the Cornish clays required in the china manufacture.

The state of the letter-posts around Derby about 1720 shows a primitive condition of things. The slow postboys still came and went between Derby and the Great North Road, although Allen, the Postmaster-General, complained that most of the letters between Derby and Nottingham were conveyed by "Twopotts and other carriers," who openly collected and distributed them, to the loss of the post office. In 1736, through the influence of the Duke of Devonshire, a new cross-country service was instituted from Manchester, through Derby to Lincoln, and in 1755 the post began to come in daily, excepting Sundays. It was about this time that Allen put down mile-posts on all the highroads, which led to the discovery that the old measurements were grossly inaccurate. The distance from London to Derby was now found to be a hundred and twenty-six miles, instead of "about a hundred," as Woolley stated—an under-estimate which brought the Highlanders, when at Derby in 1745, much nearer to the metropolis in imagination than in reality.*

About 1786, the postboys ceased to carry the mails, the bags being conveyed by the coaches, with much

* "He (the Pretender) had now advanced within a hundred miles of the capital."—Smollett's *History*.

advantage both in point of time and security, yet, when accidents occurred, the old system had again to be resorted to. In January, 1789, the Manchester mail came into Derby on horseback, over a day late, the coach having been stopped by the snow.

Some of the early stage-wagons and carriers to London and the south crossed the Trent in the ferry barge, for the Cavendish bridge at Shardlow was not built until 1758, and the toll for some years later was somewhat prohibitive. Bray, who crossed it during his *Tour* in 1776, states that he paid half-a-crown for his chaise, the same fare having been charged by the ferryman before the bridge was built.

With the advent of the nineteenth century, the highways gradually became perfect, both in metalling and in gradients, a number of improvements being effected around Derby.* It was from Sadler Gate Bridge that Telford, the road engineer, commenced his survey of the Derby and Stockport turnpike, one of the chief highways to the metropolis, when it was found advisable to improve the levels. The streets in the town, also, were improving, for in 1793, the first coach-stand was set up in Derby; G. Gourde informing the public that he had "bought two coaches with steady horses, to take their stand at W. Wood's, Grocer and Confectioner, The Grasshopper, Corn-market."

* Ashbourne Road, as we know it now, was straightened about the latter end of the eighteenth century, under Palmer's Mail-coach Act. Before that time, it trended to the right from Derby, passing close by a spinney, where traces of the track were discernible a few years since, and entered Markeaton Lane near the Pack-horse Bridge over the brook. Near this point was a watering-place for the horses, with a pump and stone trough. Similar alterations of highways took place nearly all over the kingdom.

The list of coaches for the year 1828 represents the traffic through the town at about the height of its prosperity, previous to the introduction of the railway system. There were at least seven coaches each day to London, and an equal number to Manchester, besides others running to Nottingham, Birmingham, Leeds, Newcastle-under-Lyme, and other towns.

Night and day, the coaches rattled through the narrow streets over the pebbles. The "Defiance," Manchester to London, changed horses at the Tiger Inn, at one in the morning; the "Old Independent," running the same route, changed at two in the morning, at the Nag's Head Inn, St. Peter's Street. At intervals came the "Times," "Telegraph," "Royal Bruce," "Nelson," and "Amity," or the "Peveril of the Peak," racing with its rival, the "Express," to the admiration of the bystanders and the terror of the outside passengers. The London mail passed through at four in the afternoon, changing horses at the New Inn, King Street; the down mail about nine in the morning. The post office was then in Queen Street, but the old business of supplying post-horses to travellers had long before been diverted to the large inns, whose proprietors were mostly coach proprietors also.

The cross-country coaches, more sober in their movements, started at less unseasonable hours. The "Hero," for Newcastle-under-Lyme, through Uttoxeter, left the New Inn at ten in the morning, reaching its destination in the evening, and returning on the following day. This service continued long after the fast London coaches had left the road,

and until 1855 the Royal Mail-coach ran between Derby and Manchester, through the picturesque valleys of Matlock and Buxton, driven by those two fine "whips," William Burditt and William Hodson.*

The racing of rival coaches, and the desire to keep time, often led to reckless driving and occasional accidents. A letter in the newspaper calls attention to the dangerous speed at which the night coaches drive through the villages between Loughborough and Derby; now a coach, driving rapidly out of Irongate on market day, runs down a deaf man, which draws a protest from the *Mercury* against the speed at which coaches pass through the Market Place when crowded with business. In September, 1838, Joseph Borrington, the driver of the "Defiance" coach, was fined by the local magistrates for driving furiously down St. Peter's Street on Sunday morning.

In times of political excitement, the coaches and expresses earned notoriety by bringing news from the capital hours in advance of the mails. During the Government debate on the malt-tax in 1835, an agent of the *Sun* newspaper posted down into the country at the rate of twelve miles an hour, overtaking the "Telegraph" coach at Dunstable, so that the Derby maltsters were able that evening to read the debate of the previous night. A more memorable instance was the occasion of the House of Lords rejecting the Reform Bill in 1831. The division occurred about six o'clock in the morning, and the

* The "Defiance" coach between Derby and Ashbourne, having been run at a loss for several years, was taken off the road in 1852. An omnibus called the "Protector" was discontinued in the following year. The Manchester mail ran its last journey on November 3rd, 1855.

express-rider reached Derby about seven in the evening, his news being awaited by a large crowd, which began to take blind revenge in riot.

The post-chaise traffic was also considerable, the local newspaper giving a weekly list of the nobility and gentry who passed through. For the week ending September 16th, 1835, those who changed horses or slept at the "King's Head," were the Dukes of Devonshire, Rutland, Newcastle, and Cleveland, several Earls and Countesses, with others of the nobility and gentry, the list concluding with Daniel O'Connell, Esq.

The growth of traffic about this time, however, was not shared by the town, local trade showing a steady decline during the years coming between the Peace after Waterloo and the rise of the railway system. As early as 1777, it has been shown that the stockingers were complaining over their hard lot, which grew worse as the power-loom superseded hand labour, until about 1830, men were working at the hand-frames seventeen hours a day for the miserable pittance of five shillings a week.

The ancient handicraft of the woolcombers, also, was so badly crippled by the introduction of Cartwright's combing-machine in 1792, that an Act of Parliament, in 1795, permitted them to follow other trades without serving an apprenticeship.

The china manufacture, in its more artistic branches, declined after Waterloo, partly because the forgery of French trade-marks during the war became of little service when Sèvres china began once more to be imported.

The silk trade, also, suffered from French

competition, manufacturers complaining that in spite of prohibition, great quantities of French goods found their way into English markets, the contraband traffic being lucrative. The trade was further handicapped by labour troubles, for combination, following the lead of the old merchant-guild, was preached to the workmen as the panacea which would abolish low wages, and the Derby men followed the general example, and formed a Union.

In November, 1833, the *Reporter* stated that eight hundred workmen were said to have joined the society, about which little information could be obtained, for the members, on joining, took an oath of secrecy, and all its movements were mysterious. The principal feature, however, was the accumulation of a fund available for strike pay, and when Mr. Frost, a silk manufacturer, discharged one of his workpeople who refused to be fined for bad work, the unionists making it a test case, left their machines, and the mill was at a stand (November 19th). The workmen of other mills joined in the contest, the masters retaliated by discharging the unionists, and in a fortnight, thirteen hundred people were idle, the strike being general, and including silk-throwsters, smallware weavers, broad-silk weavers, silk-twisters, bobbin-net weavers, frame-work knitters, tailors, shoemakers, painters, sawyers, stonemasons, bricklayers, plasterers, and labourers.

Strangers were brought in from other parts, some even from London; women and untrained hands were also engaged, and in this way some of the mills were kept partially working. Attempts were made to prevent these people following their employment,

but a troop of Dragoons was brought into the town, special constables were enrolled to preserve order, and little of a serious nature occurred. The strike dragged on through the winter, as many as two thousand four hundred men, women, and boys being idle, the strike pay of seven shillings a week to each man soon failed, and, little assistance coming from other centres, the people began to suffer from want. Early in April, some of the men applied for work, and by the 16th most of the mills were fully employed. The final collapse came on Monday, April 21st, when the general body of strikers applied to be reinstated, and six hundred people found themselves without employment.

Fortunately, these workmen or their children were soon to profit by the advent of new trades into the town; but silk-throwing was doomed to decay. Mr. Huskisson, a free-trade statesman, was of opinion that protection engendered lack of enterprise and invention among the manufacturers, and in 1825, he removed the prohibition from foreign silk goods, imposing instead a duty of thirty per cent. Such a change, favourable only to the foreigner, could not fail to have a depressing effect on an industry already declining. Complaints continued, which occasionally exacted some slight concession from the legislature, although of little avail. In 1832, a Factory Act was passed, prohibiting the employment of children under nine years of age, exception being made in the case of the silk trade, and again, in 1852, when the duty on foreign manufactures was reduced generally to ten per cent, the duty on silk goods was allowed to stand at fifteen per cent. In 1860, the duty was totally

abolished, at which date the silk-throwing industry had reached low-water mark ; however, the result of modern enterprise has been the invention of more suitable machinery, the utilisation of silk "waste," which was formerly useless, and the alliance of the silk trade with kindred industries ; and in this modern revival, Derby has taken a position.

This period of slack trade, which culminated about 1840, was dissipated by the rapid extension of the railway systems, of which Derby soon became an important focus. In August, 1833, a scheme was broached at Leicester for uniting the midland towns with the London and Birmingham Railway, then under construction. A few months later, committees were formed in Derby, Leicester, and Nottingham, when the project became known as the "Midland Counties Railway." By November, 1834, the details of the scheme were arranged, and Derby was to form a terminus, the railway station to be on the site of Darby's yard, now Derwent Street, the line to be carried over the river near the present Exeter bridge.

More important projects, however, were in the air, and the Midland Counties scheme was destined to suffer considerable modification. In October, 1835, it was proposed to construct a railway from Derby to Birmingham, which, with the "North Midland," already projected from Derby to Leeds, would, as the *Mercury* remarked, "make Derby a centre of communication, and must, *we imagine*, increase the trade and importance of the town." The North Midland had arranged their terminus near the Nottingham Road, and the Directors of the Derby

and Birmingham, seeing the importance of through communication, soon decided to continue their line across the Derwent as far as the North Midland property. In December, 1835, a well-attended public meeting was held in the Town Hall, the Mayor, Richard Wright Haden, Esq., presiding, when the plans of the two companies were heartily approved, and the opposition of the Belper people, who wished to divert the line to the eastward of Derby, was strongly criticised.

In February, 1836, the Town Council suggested that a joint station for the three companies should be built on the Holmes, and appointed a deputation to wait upon the Railway Directors. In April, the Derby and Birmingham Company agreed to this plan, the Town Council proposing to widen Thorn Tree Lane to forty-five feet, and to cover the brook from St. Peter's Bridge to St. James's Lane, forming a thoroughfare from the centre of the town to the railway station. In August, the Chairman of the two principal companies, together with Mr. George Stephenson and others, met the deputation at the Town Hall, and the question of the site for the station was discussed; although, in the end, the Directors objected to the Holmes, as being liable to floods, and selected the nearest high ground in Castle Fields.

There was also some rivalry between the different companies, and it was some time before matters were amicably settled. The Midland Counties Directors, seeing that there would be keen competition with the Derby and Birmingham for the London traffic,

attempted to alter their route, so as to avoid Derby, and join the North Midland near Clay Cross. This scheme met with the strongest opposition in Derby, a petition protesting against it being signed by two thousand people in twenty-four hours. The Mayor also held a meeting in January, 1837, at which the injury resulting to the town from such a change was exposed.

Meanwhile, the local coach-traffic began to suffer as the first railways became completed. In July, 1837, the Grand Junction line was opened from Birmingham to Manchester, upon which some of the through coaches shortened their journeys by finishing at Derby, and as the London and Birmingham line was opened from point to point, the Derby coaches, instead of running through to London, carried their passengers to the nearest station on the new railway. The mail service, also, was accelerated, although subjected at first to occasional delay, owing to breakdowns on the railway. In October, 1838, the letters were four hours late in reaching Derby, and on another occasion, a Derby traveller reported a long delay owing to the engineer running short of fuel.

The local railways were now approaching completion, and the neighbourhood was flooded with rough "navigators," who furnished much employment for the local police and magistrates. The Midland Counties line employed four thousand and thirty-five navvies and four hundred and fifty-seven horses, although their difficulties of construction were slight as compared with the works on the North Midland,

referred to by the *Mercury* as a "mighty undertaking." In June, 1838, the three companies had arranged to form "contiguous stations" at Derby, and in February, 1839, land was purchased in Castle Fields to be divided for a general station. The bridge over the Derwent was completed, and in March the plans were published for the building of Derby station and the octagonal engine-shed which still forms a conspicuous feature there.

At length, on Thursday, May 30th, 1839, the Midland Counties Company opened their line from Nottingham to Derby, the three engines—"Hawk," "Sunbeam," and "Ariel"—which constituted the whole of the locomotive power, bringing about five hundred people to a temporary platform at Derby Junction, the line being crowded with sightseers, whilst at intervals the "policemen," in their new uniforms, and waving their flags, made a novel spectacle. A few days later, the line was opened for regular traffic, four trains a day passing each way, with two on Sundays. It was some weeks later before the open carriages (the "Stanhopes," or "stand-ups," as they came to be called) commenced running, when the company began to reckon its daily passengers by hundreds.

In the August following, the Derby and Birmingham line was opened, enabling passengers to travel through by rail to London in six and three-quarter hours. So anxious was this company to obtain the London traffic, before the Midland Counties line could be opened to Rugby, that the Normanton cutting was still unfinished, and for some time



A COURT OFF BRIDGE GATE

the traffic at this point was worked on a single line.*

The North Midland, owing to its numerous tunnels and bridges, was not completed until the following year, when, on June 30th, two trains, each with three engines, brought a large number of guests from Leeds to Derby, where two long tables were fixed on the stone platform of the railway station, and the band played whilst the travellers took lunch standing.

With what interest and wonder the people of 1840 viewed the new system of locomotion may be judged from a description of the Derby station, written at this time. "It is," says the reporter, "a wonderfully extensive place, which astonishes every person arriving there for the first time. So stupendous and magnificent does everything appear, that imagination almost leads passengers to suppose they are arrived at a market-place for steam engines."

Coaching had, meanwhile, become reduced to a minimum, the London and Manchester mail becoming a local coach between Derby and Manchester, and the principal coach proprietor, the late Mr. W. W. Wallis, having been appointed agent for the

X * Dr. Granville, travelling through the country collecting information for his work, *The Spas of England*, came to Derby from Matlock on the eve of the opening of the Derby and Birmingham Railway, and journeyed to London by the first train. "All Derby," he says, "was in a bustle on that eventful morning. I was first on the spot, and had ticket No. 1. Every director was present. Preliminary experiments had been made daily for a week and upwards, yet everything seemed in a state of confusion; everybody spoke or commanded, and when the carriages were to be brought up to the temporary platform, it was found that something was to be done to the iron stop of one of those circular moving machines in the ground which serve to turn the vehicles. The operation was performed with bad and inefficient tools, and took some time to be completed. This was not very encouraging to me, who was silently

Birmingham and Midland Companies, commenced running omnibuses between the railway station and the town, some of the first conveyances of this kind seen in Derby.

With the opening of the railways, the prosperity of Derby became assured: ironworks sprang up to supply the new means of locomotion with forgings and castings; the railway companies, finding coal and iron close at hand, established engineering works at Derby for constructing their locomotives and rolling stock, and the town began to grow at a rate never before known. The railway station built by the North Midland Company out in the country, "at the top of Siddals Road" (as it is located in the early directories), found itself, in a few years, on the verge of a new town stretching away to meet it.

Old trades which had declined through various causes have once more looked up: silk-throwsters have established new mills, and a company has revived the manufacture of "Derby Crown China." The pre-historic trade in lead still continues, and the medieval business of malting has

watching every movement, and saw all the hesitation and whispering, and going to and fro, around me. When all was ready, it was found there were but few passengers who would proceed, and the train ended by being composed of three or four first-class carriages only—certainly very splendid and comfortable. With these we started for Stonebridge, on the London and Birmingham Railway, near Coventry, where we expected to be taken in tow by the train from Birmingham. But we were not quite ready when the train came in sight, and it whisked along, giving us the go-by." However, a locomotive, "with suitable fuel and water," was soon procured, and the travellers again "started on their venture," arriving safely at Euston, a distance of 135 miles in seven hours, "when," says Dr. Granville, "I inwardly thanked my stars to find myself again upon my legs."

extended, and become conspicuous on all sides. As trade always encourages trade, so a few men in each community seize upon some feature adapted to their own neighbourhood, from which they and the community profit. In Derby, the old-established stationer, doing the respectable business of a country town, suddenly finds the railway company at his door, requiring huge supplies of account-books and time-tables. He seizes his opportunity, and becomes the printing contractor to the company. A firm of ironfounders finds its speciality in bridge-building, establishing a world-wide fame for its work. One man perfects the system of making cast-iron malleable; another, foreseeing the growing necessity for the cold storage of perishables, turns his attention to the construction of refrigerating machinery. Defoe's remark requires modifying: Derby is now a town of trade rather than of gentry, and on all sides there is evidence of the accumulation of capital, and of its wise outlay for further production.

Since 1840, the appearance of the town has undergone a general change. The covering of the brook after the flood of 1842 created new streets and enlarged the Morledge. The replacement of a wooden structure by the present Exeter Bridge was an improvement which would have saved the Nottingham coaches and wagons a long and heavy detour had it been effected in their day. The widening of Irongate and St. James's Lane, and the removal of Rotten Row, with the old-fashioned shambles and piazzas, has extended the Market Place and its environs. One by one, the historic

features of old Derby have disappeared before modern improvements, each change forming a link in the chain of progress which has continued through the centuries, from the time when the Saxon built his village of wattle hovels in the valley down to the present day.

CHAPTER VII.

TOWN ANNALS—1833-1905

1833. February. Petition signed for a reduction of the duty on soap.

March. The Town Hall clock illuminated with gas.

April. Petition signed for the abolition of the house and window tax.

July. Sheridan Knowles and Ellen Tree in the "Hunchback," etc., at the Theatre, which was "well and fashionably attended as in its palmy days." The famous actor also gave a lecture on elocution in the Lancasterian Schoolroom in aid of the Infirmary Fund.

August. An omnibus began running daily between Derby and Leicester.

1834. January. An influential meeting of Dissenters was held in Brookside Chapel to discuss their grievances regarding marriages, burials, church rates, etc.

February 12th. During the Shrove Tuesday game of football about two thousand of the people out on strike walked in procession to Duffield to avoid complications.

May. Resolved that the news-room in the Market Place be closed on Sundays, and that no newspaper be taken home on Saturday nights.

1834. July. Rejoicings over the abolition of slavery in the British Colonies. Public breakfast in Green Hill Chapel.

December. The royal mail-coach service between Derby and Manchester accelerated, the journey occupying six-and-a-half hours.

1835. April. The Arctic navigator, Sir John Ross, and his lady passed through the town.

August. Mr. and Miss Vandenhoff at the Theatre in "Coriolanus."

1836. March. Organ opened in St. John's Church. During the Assizes a strong wind threw down a weather vane, which fell on the roof of the County Hall, the noise creating a panic in the crowded court. The judge, the barristers, jurymen and audience fled, leaving wigs, gowns, hats and umbrellas, and for half-an-hour the court was suspended.

A vase of Etruscan biscuit-ware, ordered by the Marchioness of Hastings for the Princess Victoria, was on view at the China Factory.

July. There were at this time 110 oil lamps and 210 gas lamps in the streets.

August. An accident occurred to the Union coach, owing to a wheel coming off near Spondon. The coach being full, several passengers were bruised and shaken, and one lady had her leg broken.

September. Decided that the Town Hall be lighted with gas, a disturbance having occurred in the Borough Court, and the audience, taking advantage of the ill-lighted building, hooted the Recorder.

December. Heavy snowstorm throughout the south of England. On December 27th, the London mail-coach was over twenty-one hours late at Derby.

1837. July. Funeral of King William IV. The shops were closed and the church bells tolled.

July 25th. Contested election for the borough—Strutt and Ponsonby against Curzon and Colvile.

August. The “Queen Victoria” coach commenced running through Derby between London and Manchester.

August 19th. Completion of the work of covering in the brook-course from St. Peter's to St. James' bridges.

1838. April. An omnibus called “Protector” began running between Derby and Ashbourne.

June 28th. Festivities in honour of the Coronation of Queen Victoria. The town was gaily decorated, the school children, to the number of 4,600, walked through the streets and took tea in the afternoon. The employers invited their workpeople to dinner; at the China Factory one hundred and fifty people sat down to dinner and tea.

On the same day, the congregation of the Roman Catholic chapel marched in procession, preceded by their beadle, from Chapel Street to Bridge Gate to lay the foundation-stone of their new church.

August. Stormy meeting held in St. Peter's parish to oppose the church-rate.

1839. January. New Year's ball held at the Mechanics' Institution. Dr. Francis Fox, a local leader in the education movement, made sixteen gallons of coffee for the company with his patent coffee pot.

January 28th. A great Chartist meeting held on Chester Green, the principal speaker, in the absence of Feargus O'Connor, being George Julian Harney. The authorities anticipating trouble, enrolled thirty-nine extra police for the occasion, but there was no disturbance.

1839. February. A town's meeting held to advocate the abolition of the Corn Laws.
 A requisition to the Postmaster, signed by many persons, asking that their letters be not forwarded to them on Sundays.

March. All Saints' Parish Workhouse in Walker Lane offered for sale.

June 4th. Railway between Derby and Nottingham opened for general traffic.

August 12th. Derby and Birmingham Junction Railway opened.

September 3rd and 4th. Brilliant aurora borealis, with showers of meteors.

September 25th. The great Exhibition in the Mechanics' Hall had, to this date, attracted no less than 95,804 visitors.

November 30th. The General Post Office removed from Queen Street to the New Buildings in "Victoria Walk."

1840. January. General distress among the stockingers, silk weavers, and others.

June. The North Midland Railway opened for general traffic between Derby and Leeds.

1841. March. Suggestions in the local press for covering over the rest of the Brook course.

November 15th. Mr. John Hullah lectured at the Athenæum on his method of instruction in vocal music.

Contested Election. Result: Strutt (Whig) 891; Ponsonby (Whig), 789; Chandos-Pole (Tory), 589.

1842. April 1. A calamitous flood in Derby, caused by an extraordinary rise in the Markeaton Brook. From Nun's Street, along Brook Street, to the Morledge, where the brook empties itself into the Derwent, the streets were flooded to the height of 4 to 5 feet. In Jury Street it was 5 feet 9 inches.* Damage to shops and houses and goods estimated at over £25,000.

* See table, page 324.

1842. June 26th. Feargus O'Connor, editor of the *Northern Star*, addressed a Chartist meeting in the Theatre.

August 15th. Trade disturbances, scarcity of food and Chartist agitation. About 400 stockingers and others from Duffield and district came into Derby to organise a general strike, but without effect. A section of the 2nd Dragoon Guards arrived from Nottingham, and order was maintained.

August 17th. The Mayor, Mr. Stephen Gamble, prohibited the holding of meetings, and nothing further occurred of a serious nature.

1843. March 31st. Friday. Bonsall, Bland, and Hulme (a sweep) hanged for the murder of Martha Goddard, an old lady, of Stanley. It is stated that 35,000 to 40,000 people witnessed the execution.

July. Royal Agricultural Show first held at Derby, in Osmaston Park.

August. Corporation Committee's Report published *re* the state of the Brook course.

December 1st. Friday. Queen Victoria passed through Derby Station on her way to Chatsworth. A large crowd thronged the platform.

1844. January 13th. Joseph Strutt, Esq., donor of the Arboretum, died at his residence in St. Peter's Street, aged 79 years. *Born 1755*

January 16th. Christ Church, Normanton Road, consecrated.

May 16th. Holy Thursday. Perambulation of St. Peter's Parish. After morning service, the parishioners, headed by the Derby Brass Band, started from the Morledge to "beat the bounds." They reached Normanton about two o'clock, when the children were regaled with buns and ale, about 2,000 buns and 72 gallons of ale being consumed.

1844. November 5th. During the work of arching over the Brook in the Morledge, part of the culvert near the Mill Fleam fell in, killing six men.

1845. April 15th. On removing the centres from the new culvert in the Morledge, part of the arch again collapsed, killing two men.

Derby and Crewe Junction Railway (North Staffordshire) projected.

1846. February 16th. Public meeting to advocate the cutting of a new street direct from the railway station to the Market Place. The opposition of tradesmen on the existing routes, however, defeated the scheme.

July 14th. About twelve yards of the culvert at the Mill Fleam again collapsed, but fortunately the workmen were absent.

September 15th. The new Church of St. Alkmund opened; Mr. Isaac Henry Stevens, Architect.

1847. January. The "electric telegraph" recently opened to London. The Queen's Speech on opening Parliament was received by wire.

February. Operations performed at the Infirmary with the aid of sulphuric ether, an anæsthetic superseded a few months later by chloroform.

June. Miss Helen Faucit (the late Lady Martin) recited extracts from Shakespeare, etc., at the theatre. [She was a cousin of J. Faucit Saville, the Manager.]

1848. February. Scheme for waterworks at Little Eaton under consideration.

July. Great archery meeting held at Litchurch.

August. The Races held on the new Race-course, Nottingham Road. Wm. Denham, Clerk of the Course.

December 2nd. Samuel Tomlinson, a patient at the Private Asylum, Green Hill, was murdered by a fellow-lunatic.

1849. February 28th. Jenny Lind sang at a concert in the Lecture Hall, before an audience of 1,200 people. June 11th. St. Paul's Church, Chester Green, founded. June 27th. Meeting held to establish a Ragged School. September 28th. The Queen, Prince Albert, the Prince of Wales, and Princess Royal passed through Derby from Scotland, and slept at the Midland Hotel; Manager, Mr. J. Cuff. October 24th. Public meeting to protest against the Post Office being open on Sundays. The China Factory on Nottingham Road finally closed.

1850. July. The agitation concerning the Wesleyan "Reformers"—Griffith, Dunn, and Everett—still continued. These three ministers were expelled from the Conference in the previous year, and were the originators of the Methodist Free Church body. The followers of Mr. Wm. Griffith built the chapel in Becket Street, in 1857, of which he was minister till his death in 1883. August. The Queen and Prince Albert passed through Derby, the train stopping to change engines near the Nottingham Road Bridge. A special train of open carriages conveyed the gentry of Derby and neighbourhood from the railway station to the point where the royal train came to a stand, and the Prince Consort occupied the short interval in conversing with the Mayor, Mr. J. Haywood, inquiring into the state of the crops and other local matters. December. Meeting of the town and neighbourhood in the County Hall to protest against the "Papal aggression." (The local press full of reports and opinions concerning the newly-formed Roman Catholic dioceses.)

1850. The waterworks completed at Little Eaton.
December 27th. Alarming fire at Ratcliff's, Iron-mongers, in the Corn Market, at which water was used from the new mains with effective results.

1851. August 5th. Dinner at the Assembly Rooms in honour of Mr. Joseph Paxton (afterwards Sir Joseph), designer of the Crystal Palace for the great Exhibition, to see which, during the summer, many of the artisan class visited London for the first time.

1852. March 26th. Anthony Turner hanged at the County Prison for the murder of Mrs. Barnes.
July. General Election. Result: Bass (L.), 1,252; Horsfall (C.), 1,025; Heyworth (L.), 1018.
August 25th. The Guild of Literature and Art, with Mr. Charles Dickens, played "The Frozen Deep" and "Mr. Nightingale's Diary" at the Lecture Hall, which was filled in all parts.

1853. March 9th. Inquiry by Committee of the House of Commons into the question of bribery at the late election resulted in Mr. Horsfall being unseated and Mr. Heyworth declared elected.
July 13th. Fire at Davenport's Mill, which stood between the present Market Hall and Corn Exchange. Job Mead, aged 21, dropped from a window 50 ft. from the ground, and died from his injuries.
Severe winter. Grouse and wild ducks came into the gardens of the town. Derwent frozen below Long Bridge.

1854. April. Strike of guards and porters at the Midland Railway Station on the question of the Company retaining a fortnight's wages.

1854. September 4th. The distinguished Baptist minister and author, the Rev. J. G. Pike, aged 70 years, was found dead, sitting at his study table, pen in hand, in the Chapel House, St. Mary's Gate.

1855. Scots Greys passed through Derby en route for seat of war. Rejoicings over unfounded rumour that Sebastopol was taken.

November 3rd. The Derby and Manchester mail-coach ceased running. It reached the Bell Office, Sadler Gate, daily at 4 p.m., returning at 8 a.m. The last coachman was William Burditt, and the last proprietors the late Mr. William Wallace Wallis, of Derby, and Mr. William Greaves, of Bakewell.

1856. February 23rd. Jenny Lind again in Derby.

May. Peace rejoicings over the close of the Crimean War. An ox was roasted and given to the poor, also a number of sheep in various parts of the town, whilst the many employers of labour gave substantial dinners to their workpeople.

June 23rd. Monday. Enoch Stone, aged 45 years, a silk glove maker, of Spondon, was murdered late at night on the Nottingham Road, "about 300 yards on the Derby side of the third mile post."

August 17th. The gable end of the chancel of St. Michael's Church fell during service.

December 15th. Mr. W. M. Thackeray, novelist, lectured before the Mayor and an appreciative audience on "George III." (Lectures on the Four Georges.)

1857. June 6th. Two cannon from Sebastopol brought to Derby, and after being drawn round the town in procession, with music, etc., were placed in the Arboretum.

1857. September 5th. Rev. Jas. Gawthorn died, aged 82 years. He was minister of the Congregational chapel in Victoria Street for 57 years.

November. As an Act of Parliament had recently forbidden the practice of chimney-climbing, subscriptions were raised in Derby to buy for each sweep a "Ramoneur" brush.

December 2nd. Death of Mr. Henry Mozley, Coroner. He was Mayor in 1847.

1858. September 13th. Madame Piccolomini and party gave an evening concert in the Temperance Hall.

October 22nd. Friday. Charles Dickens gave a reading in the Lecture Hall. He had arranged to read his "Christmas Carol," but on request the programme was altered to a series of extracts from "The Poor Traveller," "Boots at the Holly Tree Inn," and chapters from "Martin Chuzzlewit" (Mrs. Gamp, etc.). Opinion was strongly divided, many agreeing with the *Mercury* that "The 'Christmas Carol' would have been infinitely preferable." The *Reporter* took an opposite view, and much correspondence ensued, in which it was pointed out that Dickens had changed his plan at the request of his audience.

November 4th. Thursday. New organ opened in St. Alkmund's Church.

December 16th. John Balguy, Esq., Q.C., Recorder of Derby for over twenty years, died, aged 76 years.

December 29th. The Methodist minister, Dr. Morley Punshon, preached at King Street Chapel.

1859. June. Volunteer Corps to be established.

June 9th. Thursday. The Baptist minister, Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, preached two sermons in a marquee on the Holmes. The collections amounted to £153, the balance being given to Agard Street Chapel.

1859. July 14th. New organ opened at St. Michael's Church.

July 14th. Mr. Thomas Cooper, the old Chartist, lectured at the Temperance Hall.

1860. February 27th. During a great gale the top (about eleven feet) of the spire of St. Alkmund's was blown off, carrying away the weather vane and ball through the roof into the church, damaging the pews, the organ, and the floor.

June 8th. The American horse-tamer, J. S. Rarey, gave an exhibition of his powers in a marquee on the Holmes. He applied his system to three local horses (unbroken), his method being to render the animal helpless by strapping one leg in an ingenious manner.

1861. July 12th. Friday. Blondin, the famous rope-walker, performed in the Arboretum. Although the day was wet, a great crowd witnessed his feats, the rope being suspended near the Florentine Boar statue.

December 17th. The new Cattle Market on the Holmes opened for the show of Christmas fat stock.

1862. January 20th. Monday. The Corn Exchange opened with a concert, in which Jenny Lind, Mr. Sims Reeves, and other stars took part.

April 12th. Saturday. Richard Thorley, who had murdered Eliza Morrow in Agard Street, was hanged at the County Gaol. Nearly 20,000 people are said to have been present.

June. Charles Pitt played at the Corn Exchange in Sir E. Bulwer Lytton's "Money."

October 4th. Speech Day revived at the Grammar School, which had recently been removed from the old rooms in St. Peter's Churchyard to St. Helen's House, the Corporation having voted £2,000 towards the purchase money.

1863. January. Martin's pictures, "The Plains of Heaven," etc., attracted large crowds to the Athenæum Rooms.

January 24th. Saturday. Extensive fire at the carriage-building works of Messrs. Holmes on the London Road. The fire, which broke out on Saturday night, employed the brigade until Monday morning.

November. The widening of Iron Gate to be proceeded with.

December. Mr. Edward Foster, centenarian, granted £60 out of the Royal Bounty Fund.

December 29th. George Victor Townley respited. He had murdered his sweetheart, Miss Elizabeth Goodwin, near Wigwell Hall, but through the action of his lawyer, Mr. Leech, a respite was granted whilst inquiry was made as to his sanity. The indignation in the press, both local and national, was very pronounced. On February 12th, 1865, he committed suicide by throwing himself over the staircase in Pentonville Prison.

1864. January. Messrs. Wood and Hazeldine, toll collectors for the borough, sentenced to eighteen months' hard labour for embezzlement.

November 26th. A meeting in the Town Hall to form a Chamber of Commerce.

1865. March. Strike of bricklayers and some allied trades on the question of wages.

April 22nd. Saturday. The lifeboat "Florence Nightingale," purchased by the people of Derby for the port of Sunderland, was taken in procession through the town and launched upon the Derwent at Darley Lane.

July 12th. Wednesday. General Election.
Result: Cox (C.), 1,096; Bass (L.), 1,063; Plimsoll (L.), 691; Beale, 608. (The last election under the old franchise of £10 householders.)

1865. July 20th. M. T. Bass, Esq., M.P., gave the Recreation Grounds on the Holmes to the town.

July 31st. Monday. E. A. Sothern as "Lord Dundreary," at the Corn Exchange.

September. Frith's celebrated picture, "The Railway Station," on view at Keene's.

October 16th. Mr. S. Walker Cox robbed and left senseless by two men who attacked him on Cherry Tree Hill, Nottingham Road.

1866. May 10th. St. Andrew's Church consecrated.

June. The new Market Hall opened. The Borough Authorities, Freemasons, and others in procession. The Mayor (F. Longdon, Esq.) opened the Hall. The Duke of Devonshire spoke. The Oratorio (the "Messiah") conducted by Alfred Mellon; Messrs. Sims Reeves, Lewis Thomas, Madame Sainton-Dolby, Lemmens Sherrington, Soloists. Public dinner. Concerts and treats to children on following days.

July. The *Times* commented on the lack of respect shown by the High Sheriff to the Judge of Assize (Justice Mellor) on entering Derby. An absence of ceremony and of display were the chief items of complaint. The *Mercury* is pleased to notice a marked improvement at the following Assizes.

July 26th. The famous conjurer, J. H. Anderson, "The Wizard of the North," appeared at the Corn Exchange.

November 1st. Mr. Geo. Rickman, stationmaster, killed near the railway station, being run over by a train.

December 27th. St. James's Church consecrated.

1867. January 10th. The award in the matter of the burgess-rights in the Siddals and Chequers Closes issued by Mr. E. S. Gisborne on behalf of the Commissioners.

1867. March. Serious floods, causing loss and damage to houses about Chester Green and the Nottingham Road.

May 13th. Walter Montgomery, actor, made his last public appearance in England at the Lecture Hall, before sailing for a tour in Australia. (Committed suicide in London, September 1st, 1871.)

December 21st. Saturday. Extensive fire at a timber yard in Siddals Road, adjoining the Railway Station.

1868. June 18th. Extensive fire at Etches' cheese warehouse near the Railway Station. Much damage done to adjoining property.

November. General Election. Result: Bass, 5,081; PlimsoII, 4,753; Cox, 2,523. (The first election under the Act of 1867, giving the franchise in boroughs to all householders.)

1869. April. Trees recently planted along Friar Gate, the cost being met by subscription.

April 8th. Mr. Mark Lemon, editor of *Punch*, appeared at the Corn Exchange, in the part of "Falstaff."

May. An agitation, revived at intervals both before and since, to establish a stipendiary magistracy in the borough. Numerous complaints concerning the "velocipede mania," the cyclists using the footpaths to the danger of pedestrians.

May 13th. Thursday. A brilliant aurora borealis visible.

May 25th. Tuesday. The demolition of the Piazzas, which formed the east side of Rotten Row, commenced. This improvement, which enlarged the Market Place, and benefited greatly the traffic of the town, was originally suggested by William Hutton in his *History of Derby*, 1791.

1869. Promenade concerts given by the Volunteer Band during the summer evenings, in the Market Place, in Friar Gate, and other parts of the town.

September. An application to remove the fish-mongers from the Market Place, the shopkeepers complaining of the noise and uproar.

October. The question of a Free Library discussed once more.

October 18th. Phelps, the tragedian, at the Corn Exchange as Sir Pertinax Macsycophant in the "Man of the World."

December. The block system of railway signalling established between Derby and Nottingham.

December 4th. A ferocious dog passed through Derby on Saturday night, biting several persons on its way, and appearing at Loughborough about 10 o'clock on Sunday morning.

December. The town partially surrounded by floods, Chester Green and the Derwent Valley generally being submerged. The Markeaton Brook rose and flooded the adjoining property, the cellars in the Corn Market included.

1870. March 1st. Shrove Tuesday. A football was thrown up in Agard Street, and, in imitation of the old custom, was taken into the brook, where an attempt was made to strike it against the ancient goal.

March 29th. A large organ at the Drill Hall was opened by W. T. Best, Esq., of Liverpool.

May 5th. An Art Exhibition was opened in the Drill Hall with much ceremony, many of the county gentry assisting. A silver mace was presented to the Mayor on the occasion. The exhibition remained open until October 31st, being made attractive by various bands of music, etc.

1870. December 17th. Mr. Stephen Glover, the Derby historian, died at Liverpool, aged 77 years. His unfinished *History of Derbyshire* was published in 1831-3.

1871. January 23. First School Board election in the borough.
 Easter Fair. A swing-boat in the Morledge broke down, injuring a number of children.
 July 21st. Friday. A display of fireworks took place, accompanied by a band of music, in the Market Place, to commemorate the final removal of the Piazzas.
 November. The question of early closing of shops agitated.
 December. Short strike at the Midland Railway Works.

1872. May. Strike in the silk trade.
 August 11th. The Derby bellman went round, crying that "Sir Roger Tichborne would meet his friends that day at Loughborough."
 August 21st. The Market Place paved with granite cubes in place of the old pebbles. The market pump about to be removed.
 October. The Tichborne "Claimant" and Dr. Kenealy at the Lecture Hall, Derby.
 December 17th. Tuesday. The Prince and Princess of Wales attended Speech Day at Derby School, when additional buildings were opened. The town was gaily and lavishly decorated with triumphal arches, Venetian masts, flags and banners, and in the evening the illuminations were general. The occasion drew many thousands of people into the town.

1873. February. Site fixed for the new military dépôt at Normanton.

1873. March. The oak wainscot of the famous "Council Chamber" in Exeter House purchased by Mr. A. Wallis, on behalf of M. T. Bass, Esq., M.P., who caused it to be specially fitted for use in the Committee Room of the New Free Library, in memory of "the 'Forty-five."

May 24th. Mr. Matthew Kirtley, Locomotive Superintendent of the Midland Railway, died, aged 60 years.

May 25th. The Star Music Hall, near the Corn Exchange, destroyed by fire, between 1 and 4 o'clock on Sunday morning.

June. The Free Swimming Baths on the Holmes, the gift of M. T. Bass, Esq., M.P., opened to the public.

1874. January. A British Workman's Club opened on the Burton Road.

February. General Election. Result: Bass, 5,579; Plimsoll, 4,938; Cox, 3,642. There was some disorder, and damage to property.

May. Pullman's cars commenced running on the Midland Railway.

November 23rd. A dense fog in the town, during which many people lost their way.

1875. August. Mr. Charles Bradlaugh lectured from a dray in the Morledge, the use of the public halls having been refused. An attempt was made to run the dray into the Mill Fleam, but the lecturer made his escape.

October. The Great Northern Railway advanced into the town, demolishing streets of houses, and ruining the vista of Friar Gate.

November. New China Factory proposed, to be established in the old workhouse ("The Bastile").

1876. September. Rink opened for roller skating.
 October 25th. The foundation-stone of the Free Library laid in the Wardwick.

1877. March. New series of omnibuses recently established.
 October. Wood pavement laid in the Corn Market. Tramways suggested as a remote possibility.

1878. January. Mr. Ernest Hobson, eldest son of Wm. Hobson, Esq., proprietor of the *Derbyshire Advertiser*, lately a student of the Grammar School, obtained the Senior Wranglership.
 April. Proposal to raise a fund for the widow of Mr. Simeon Smithard, the temperance entertainer, lately deceased.
 July. Proposal to purchase Strutt's Park for the benefit of the town. M. T. Bass, Esq., M.P., offered £5,000 towards the scheme, which was distributed in other directions when the Park project failed.
 November 18th. The electric light exhibited outside the Drill Hall. Said to have been its first appearance in Derby, although an electric light of an elementary character was shown from the tower of All Saints' on the occasion of the marriage of the Prince of Wales in 1863.

1879. March 24th. Keith's Circus, which stood on the site of the Star Music Hall, burnt down.
 July. Gerald Mainwaring, aged 23, shot Constable Moss at the police station, for which he was condemned to death. A rumour, however, gained ground that the jury had ballotted for a verdict, and the Home Secretary, after inquiry, read a letter in the House of Commons from the foreman of the jury, who said, "There was no casting lots for a verdict, the only ballot was for the election of a chairman" (*Times*, August 12th). In consequence of this irregular procedure, the death sentence was cancelled.

1880. February. A prison van, commonly called "Black Maria," established to run between the Town Hall and the County Prison.

April 27th. Alderman Barber died as the result of being accidentally run down by a carriage between St. Mary's Gate and All Saints'. He was aged 82, and was Mayor in 1843-44.

October. Horse trams lately established.

1881. February. Serious floods, Tenant Street being partially submerged. The roar of the river could be distinctly heard in the Market Place.

May. The Arboretum to be made a public thoroughfare. Chester Green to be laid out as a Recreation Ground.

July. The Royal Agricultural Show held at Derby, the Prince of Wales paying a visit on the 16th.

A proposal to establish a Telephone Exchange abandoned for want of support.

1882. July. The Salvation Army shocking conventionalism with its new methods. Characterised by the *Mercury* as "religious rowdyism."

September 12th. Mr. John Brassington, portrait painter, died, aged 84. His studio was in Friar Gate, but his art had long declined through the progress of photography.

1883. May. New Municipal Offices to be built in Babington Lane.

June. Mr. Edward Gurner Gallop, of Derby, placed as Second Wrangler at Cambridge.

June 26th. Death of Mr. Jackson, the Derby aeronaut.

July 11th. The Methodist minister, the Rev. Wm. Griffiths, died, aged 76 years. (See 1850.)

December. A dessert service, the work of the Derby Crown Porcelain Co., presented to Mr. Gladstone by his friends.

1884. April 29th. M. T. Bass, Esq., M.P., died, aged 85 years. He was member for the borough from 1848 to 1883.

August 19th. The Mayor, Henry Fowkes, Esq., died, aged 66 years.

October. A ghost scare in Darley Lane and other shady environs.

October 17th. The statue of Mr. Bass in the Market Place unveiled by Sir William Harcourt, M.P.

1886. March. The new Theatre in Babington Lane opened. It was burnt down on May 12th.

1887. August 5th. Strike of engine-drivers at Derby Station.

October 20th. The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone visited Derby.

1888. February 28th. Steam fire engine purchased to replace the antiquated "Niagara." The new machine threw a jet high over the weather vane of the Town Hall.

1889. February 3rd. Collapse of Salvation Army Barracks in Nun's Street, two children being killed.

February 15th. Government enquiry into market-rights and tolls in Derby.

1890. February. New direct road proposed from Tenant Street Bridge to Exeter Bridge, but not carried out.

1891. May 20th. Queen Victoria visited Derby and laid the foundation-stone of the New Infirmary. The Mayor, Alfred S. Haslam, Esq., knighted. The decorations and illuminations afforded gorgeous and brilliant spectacles, recalling, although surpassing, those of 1872.

August 25th. Partial collapse of the Old Silk Mill.

1892. July 4th. General Election. Harcourt (R.), 7,507; Roe (R.), 7,389; Hextall (C.), 5,546; Haslam (C.), 5,363.

1893. October 16th. The electric light installed in the main streets.

1894. Thos. Roe, Esq., M.P., knighted (New Year's honour).
June 20th. William Mycroft, Derbyshire professional cricketer (left-hand bowler), died, aged 53 years.
September 5th. An accident occurred during removal of walls of the old Infirmary, whereby five men were killed.

1895. July 13th. General Election. Bemrose (C.), 7,907; Drage (C.), 7,076; Harcourt (R.), 6,785; Roe (R.), 6,475.

1896. March 12th. Fire at Sowter's corn mill.

1897. July. General festivities in honour of the Jubilee of Queen Victoria.
Henry Howe Bemrose, Esq., M.P., knighted.
July 7th. Extensive fire at Roe's timber yard, Siddals Road. Much damage and consequent distress in the neighbourhood, a subscription list being opened.

1898. March 23rd. P. K. Tollitt, Esq., M.A., appointed Headmaster at the Grammar School to succeed Sterndale Bennett, Esq., resigned.
April 15th. The town parishes amalgamated for civil business.

1899. January 19th. Municipal Technical College on Green Hill opened by the Duke of Devonshire.
February 17th. The Very Rev. T. E. Bridgett, O.S.B., died, aged 70 years. He was born in Derby, his father being a silk manufacturer. Educated as a Baptist, he took orders in the Church of England, but afterwards joined the Roman Catholic Church. He was the author of many theological works, among them being *The Life and Writings of Sir Thomas More*.

1899. October 27th. Sir Robert Ball lectured to a crowded audience in the Temperance Hall, on "The Lances of Heaven."

November. About three hundred Reservists left for the South African War. The crowd in front of the railway station was so great that the soldiers had much difficulty in reaching the train.

1900. May 30th. Fire at Abel's Foundry, Brook Street, the damage being estimated at about £4,000.

May 31st. St. Peter's Church re-opened after extensive restorations.

June 15th. News arrived of disaster to the 4th Derby Militia in South Africa, 36 men being killed, 104 wounded, and the rest taken prisoners.

October 3rd. Parliamentary Election. Result: Roe, 7,922; Bell, 7,640; Bemrose, 7,397; Drage, 6,775.

November 10th. Fire at Britannia Foundry, the damage being estimated at about £4,000.

1901. April 7th. General Sir Henry Wilmot, Bart., V.C., of Chaddesden Hall, died at Bournemouth, aged 70 years. He served in the Crimean War, in China, and in the Indian Mutiny, during which he won the Victoria Cross. He was for some years M.P. for South Derbyshire.

April 29th. Enthusiastic crowds welcomed the Volunteers returned from the war.

May 31st. Fatal quarrel in the Morledge during the Whitsuntide Fair.

June 9th. The Yeomanry returned from the war.

September 15th. Fire at the lace-factory of Messrs. Fletcher, on the Osmaston Road, the damage being estimated at £15,000 to £20,000.

1901. October 24th. A meeting representing many creeds and opinions presented an address and a purse of gold to Monsignor McKenna, of the Roman Catholic Church, who had resided in the town for thirty-eight years.

1902. September. Several cases of ptomaine poisoning which occurred in different parts of the kingdom were traced to a Derby origin.

1903. February 16th. The Duke and Duchess of Argyll were present at the twenty-fourth annual concert of the Railway Servants' Orphanage, and received an address at the Royal Deaf and Dumb Institution.
July 11th. Walter Evans, Esq., of Darley Abbey, died in Scotland, aged 76 years.
December 8th. Mr. Herbert Spencer died, aged 83 years. The Town Council passed a resolution acknowledging the services of their illustrious townsman in the cause of science.

1904. February 12th. Canon Ainger, Master of the Temple, the biographer of Charles Lamb, buried at Darley Abbey.
July 28th. Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India, presented with the freedom of the Borough at the Drill Hall. The electric tram system inaugurated.
August 29th. Mr. J. Gallop, Manager of Smith's bookstall at the railway station for forty-five years, died, aged 71 years. During his business career he had known and conversed with most of the celebrities of his time.

1905. April 14th and 15th. The Labour Co-partnership Association held its half-yearly meetings in the Temperance Hall, the Association having been formed at Derby twenty-one years before.

CHAPTER VIII.

DATES OF LOCAL EVENTS

Saxon town founded	c. 600
St. Werburgh's Church founded	c. 700
Danes occupy the town	874
Saxons re-take it	917
Danes re-occupy it	943
St. Alkmund's founded	c. 950
All Saints', St. Michael's, and St. Peter's founded	a. 1066
St. James's monastery founded	a. 1140
Nunnery founded	1160
King John passed through Derby	1200 March.
Third Charter granted	1204
King Edward I. at Darley Abbey	1291 & 1292
Friary founded	1292
Assizes first held at Derby	1328
St. Mary's Bridge re-built of stone	c. 1330
St. James's monastery destroyed by fire	c. 1335
Town riot	1341
St. Peter's Church re-built	c. 1350
Fire at Nunnery	c. 1400
Borough Recorder appointed	1460
All Saints' Tower re-built	c. 1509-27
Monastery, Nunnery and Friary dissolved	1537-9

Joan Waste burned to death in Windmill Pit	1556	Aug. 1.
Mary Queen of Scots passed through the town	1585	Jan.
Flood	1587	
Romish priests executed	1588	
Riots <i>re</i> Common Lands, 1590, 1603, 1604		
Devonshire Almshouses founded . .	1599	
Election riot	1610	
Municipal Charter	1611	
Flood (exceptional)	1611	
Wilmot Almshouses built	1630	
	(rebuilt 1814).	
Charter enlarged (Mayor appointed)	1637	
King Charles I. passed through . .	1642	Sept. 13-16.
Sir Jno. Gell came to Derby . . .	1642	Oct. 31.
Plague	1645	
Flamsteed born	1646	
George Fox imprisoned	1650-1	
Flood	1659	
Booth's insurrection	1659	Aug. 26.
County Hall built	1660	
Flood	1673	
Mercers' Company established . .	1674	
Gisborne Mansion built (Wardwick)	c. 1677	
Earl of Devonshire declared for William of Orange	1688	Nov.
St. Michael's Waterworks erected .	c. 1690	
Meeting House built (Friar Gate, now Unitarian Chapel)	1698	
Dr. Sacheverell preached at All Saints'	1709	Aug. 15.
Old Assembly Rooms built	1714	
Large's Almshouses established .	1716	

Lombe's Silk Mill built	c. 1717
<i>Derby Postman</i> (first Derby news-paper) established	1719
All Saints' Church demolished	1722
Hutton born	1723 Sept. 30.
All Saints' re-opened	1725 Nov.
Buck's View of Derby published	1728
Town Hall built	1730
<i>Derby Mercury</i> established	1732
"Wright of Derby" born	1734
Dr. Samuel Johnson married at St. Werburgh's	1735 July 9.
First coach from Derby to London	1735
Meeting <i>re</i> Turnpikes	1738
Flour Riot	1740
Flood	1740
Scotch rebels in Derby	1745 Dec. 4-6.
China Works established	c. 1750
Millstone Riot	1756
County Prison built (Nun's Green)	1756
Cavendish Bridge built (Shardlow)	1758
French prisoners of war came to Derby	1759
Ribbed stocking-frame invented	1759
New Assembly Rooms built	1764
Rev. John Wesley mobbed	1764 March.
Wesley's Meeting House built (St. Michael's Lane)	1765
Food Riots	1766
Theatre opened (Bold Lane)	1773
Flood	1774
First fireproof mill in England built by Messrs. Strutt near the present Corn Exchange	c. 1775
Election trial	1776

French prisoners of war came to Derby	1779
Brookside Meeting House built	1783
Philosophical Society founded	1783
Meeting at Guildhall <i>re</i> circulation of bad halfpence	1786
Sadler Gate Bridge built	1787
Howard, the philanthropist, in Derby	1787
St. Mary's Bridge, re-building began	1789 Nov.
Oil Lamps placed in streets	1792
First coach-stand (Corn Market)	1793
Canal from Derby to Trent	1795
Baptist Chapel built (Brook Street)	1803
Military Depôt built (Rose Hill)	1805
Methodist Chapel built (King Street)	1805
Friends' Meeting-House (St. Helen's Street) built	1808
Rejoicings <i>re</i> Jubilee of George III.	1809 Oct.
Shot Tower built	1809
Infirmary opened	1810 June.
Peace Party held meeting	1812 Oct.
Lancasterian and Bell's Schools opened	1812
Roman Catholic Chapel built (Chapel Street)	1813
Peace rejoicings	1814 June.
Four men hanged for rick-burning	1817 Aug.
Brandreth, Ludlam, and Turner executed	1817 Nov. 7.
Primitive Methodist Chapel built (Albion Street)	1817
Britannia Foundry established	1818
Baths at Infirmary opened	1819

Thos. Hopkinson hanged before County Gaol for rick-burning, etc.	1819 April.
Herbert Spencer born	1820 April 21.
Mrs. Fry visited the County Gaol	1820 Nov.
Market Place lighted with gas .	1821 Feb. 19.
Depôt (Rose Hill) sold	1822
<i>Derby Reporter</i> established . .	1823
Daniel Parker Coke, Esq., died .	1825 Dec. 6.
New County Prison built, Vernon Street	1823-6
St. John's Church opened	1828
Cobbett lectured in Theatre . .	1829
New Market opened	1830
Flood	1830
Riot <i>re</i> Reform Bill	1831 Oct. 8-10.
Lunatic Asylum opened (Green Hill)	1831
Streets partly lighted with gas .	1831
Town meeting <i>re</i> Board of Health	1831
Trinity Church built	1832
Royal Commission <i>re</i> Corporations	1833 Dec.
Trade strike (five months) . . .	1833-4
All Saints' Church lighted with gas .	1836
Lecture Hall built	1837
Athenæum and Royal Hotel built .	1839
Roman Catholic Church, Bridge Gate, opened	1839 Oct.
Workhouse built (Osmaston Road) .	1839
Railway opened to Nottingham . .	1839 May 30.
Railway opened to London (via Hampton-in-Arden)	1839 Aug. 12.
Railway opened to Leeds	1840 June 30.
Christ Church built	1840
Arboretum opened	1840 Sept. 16.

Town Hall destroyed by fire	1841	Oct. 21.
Great Flood (see page 324)	1842	April 1.
First Cemetery opened, Uttoxeter		
Road	1842	
Town Hall restored	1842	
St. Alkmund's Church rebuilt	1846	
Football suppressed	1846	
<i>Derbyshire Advertiser</i> established	1846	
China Works closed	1849	
Water Works completed	1850	
St. Paul's Church, Chester Green, built	1850	
County Asylum, Mickleover, opened	1851	
Training College for School- mistresses established	1851	
Exeter Bridge built	1852	
Temperance Hall built	1853	
Exeter House demolished	1854	
New Cemetery opened, Nottingham		
Road	1855	
St. Michael's Church rebuilt	1858	
Public Baths, Full Street, estab- lished	1858	
<i>Derby Gazette</i> established	1860	
Baptist Chapel, Osmaston Road, built	1861	
Corn Exchange opened	1862	
Market Hall opened	1866	May 29
St. James's Church built	1866	
Iron Gate widened	c. 1867	
Recreation Grounds presented to town by Mr. Bass, M.P.	1867	
Infirmary enlarged	1869	
Drill Hall opened	1869	
St. Luke's Church built	1871	

Free Baths, on the Holmes, built	1873
Children's Hospital built	1877
Free Library and Museum opened	1879
Deaf and Dumb Institute founded	1879
Corporation purchased Water Works	1880
Mechanics' Institution rebuilt	1881
	(Enlarged 1894).
Corporation Art Gallery established	1883
Railway Servants' Orphanage opened	1887
Rowditch Recreation Ground opened	1889
Infectious Diseases Hospital estab- lished	1889
Poor Law Offices built in Becket Street	1893
St. Werburgh's Church rebuilt	1893-4
Deaf and Dumb Institution opened, Friar Gate	1894
Midland Railway Institute estab- lished	1895
Government Offices, St. Peter's Churchyard, opened by Lord Chancellor Halsbury	1897 April 9.

TABLE OF POPULATION, ETC.

YEAR.	POPULA- TION.	AREA COVERED WITH HOUSES.	AREA WITHIN BOROUGH BOUNDARY.
1066 (Domesday)	c. 1,000	—	—
1340 (Previous to Black Death)	c. 3,000	—	—
1380 (Poll Tax Return)	c. 2,500	—	—
1712 (Woolley)	c. 4,000	c. 60 acres (Speed's Map)	—
1791 (Hutton)	8,563	" Less than 100 acres "	—
1801 (First Census)	10,828	—	—
1811	13,043	—	—
1821	17,423	c. 170 acres (Simpson's Map, 1826).	—
1831	23,627	—	—
1841	37,431	—	—
1851	40,609	—	—
1861	44,058	—	—
1871	49,810	—	—
1877	53,300	—	1,796 ac.
1877 (Borough extended)	69,716	—	3,445 ac.
1881	81,630	—	—
1891	94,140	1,500-1,600 acres.	—
1902 (Borough extended)	105,785	—	5,260 ac.
1903 (June 30)	118,707	—	5,272 ac.

HEIGHT OF THE FLOOD

APRIL 1ST, 1842.

From the *Derby Reporter*, April 7.

(The measurements are taken from the pavement.)

CORN MARKET:—	ft. in.	BOLD LANE:—	ft. in.
Holme and Smithard's	4 11	Theatre	4 3
Angel Inn	6 0	Elephant and Castle	5 6½
Mr. Smith's Yard	5 5		
ST. PETER'S STREET:—		JURY STREET:—	
Mr. Strut's House	4 7	"The Bird"	5 9
Mr. Storer's	4 5	WILLOW ROW:—	
VICTORIA STREET:—		In one part of it	6 0
Mr. Goodall's	4 6½	FORD STREET:—	
Queen's Head	4 8	Vine Tavern	4 0
Athenaeum	1 6	AGARD STREET:—	
BECKET WELL LANE:—		Mr. Brewer's	2 10
Back door of Independent		BRIDGE STREET:—	
Chapel	5 2	Mr. Baldwin's	8 0
WARDWICK:—		BROOK STREET:—	
Union Poor Law Office	4 8	Near Mozley & Sons' offices	4 6
Mechanics' Institution	8 10	MORLEDGE:—	
CURZON STREET:—		Noah's Ark	2 8
Mr. Woolley's	8 3	Mr. Copestate's	2 10
Mr. Stone's	8 4	TENANT STREET:—	
CHEAPSIDE:—		Mr. Gisborne's	3 6
Mr. Denston's	4 5	NEW MARKET:—	
FRIAR GATE:—		Some parts of it	1 6
Mr. Chadfield's	8 9	ST. MARY'S GATE:—	
GEORGE STREET:—		Corner of County Tavern	5 9
Mr. Shenton's Slate Yard	4 0	DERWENT STREET:—	
SADLER GATE:—		Mr. Barnett's	1 7
Mr. Dallison's	5 0		

(From the *Derby Reporter*, April 14th, 1842.)

[ST. MARY'S GATE], DERBY,

April 4th, 1842.

SIR, Having heard that there was a mark on one of the out buildings of the house No. 1, Friar Gate, late in the tenure of Mr. Chadfield, shewing the height of the highest Flood in Derby on record, he this morning kindly conducted me to the spot. The door on which it was cut, was so completely covered with whitewash, that we could not discover it, until by the aid of a brush and some water, the following mark was brought to view:—

THE FLOOD,

1795.

The distance between the lines above and below the words, 'The Flood,' is one inch and a half; and, taking the upper line to the water mark, the Flood, on Friday last, was eighteen inches higher than that mark.

I have also been shown another mark on a building near the late Bell's School, in the Bold Lane, said to have been made at the same period, which is one foot eleven inches below the present Flood line.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JNO. THOMAS SWANWICK.

N.B.—On referring to the Meteorological account kept by my late father, I find the following remark:—"On Tuesday, the 10th of February, 1795, the thaw caused a greater Flood than had been for fifty years."

Appendix

TOWN FORDS, BRIDGES, AND HIGHWAYS

THE earliest passage over the Derwent in Derby was the British ford across the Holmes from the Morledge to the eastern bank. A second route appears to have branched to the left and followed the line of the present Long Bridge, the weir there having been built (for facility in construction) along the line of the ford. (A A A A on sketch map.) These fords were evidently used for many centuries after the Christian era, for the straight character of Thorn Tree Lane (B B) implies that this thoroughfare was originally a causeway across the marsh from the Saxon town to this ancient British ford.

The passage over the river, second in time, was the Roman bridge at Little Chester (C) which also appears to have been in use long after the Roman occupation, for City Road (D), with which it was connected, formed a portion of the later road to Nottingham, as may still be seen. The route from this bridge to the Saxon town of Northworth was along the Roman way now represented by Kedleston Street and Nun Street (E E), where, after crossing the Markeaton Brook at a ford, the traveller entered the town by the road now called Friar Gate (F).

At what time the Roman bridge fell into decay is uncertain, also the period at which the ford across the river (G), now represented by the causeway at St. Michael's

mill, came into existence. Both the Kedleston Road (H) and the old Duffield Road (Darley Grove) (J) appear to have concentrated on this ford by means of Derwent Lane (K) (or Eagle Lane, as it is named by Mr. John Keys), shown in Speed's map of 1610 running down to the river bank. This causeway may have been a crossing of stepping-stones, available for the poorer class of traveller in the summer time. At Derby, as at many other places, it was utilised later by the builder of the weir, furnishing him with an easy and substantial foundation; so that the still existing name, "the causeway," may indicate the situation of the earlier stone ford. What compensation was made by the Church to the travellers and merchants who were then compelled to pay toll at the bridge there is no record to tell, although it may be noticed that a tradition exists that St. Michael's mills, in time of famine, were bound by old custom to grind the corn of the poor free of charge, and further, it will be remembered that the wealthy townspeople gave doles of food to the poor in corn, and not in flour, a custom which somewhat confirms this tradition.

The first St. Mary's bridge (L) belongs, as indirect evidence shows, to the time of the Danish occupation, its situation being more favourable than that of the Roman bridge, for the gradient of Bridge Gate is gentler than that of Well Street (L L), and further, the road to the Saxon town by way of St. Helen's Street (M) and Ford Street (N) is shorter. It may be noticed also that this route crossed the Markeaton Brook at a point where there was an islet (O), the ford still denoted by *Ford* Street.

The first St. Mary's Bridge, of timber, may have been rebuilt, but was more probably extensively repaired in the reign of King John, and remained a wooden bridge until about the year 1330, when the stone structure of which the remains are still to be seen took its place. This wooden bridge doubtless bore a close resemblance

to the present "Long Bridge," excepting that it may have been six feet wide instead of four feet, and that the roadway was generally broken by dangerous gaps.

Along the Markeaton Brook, the progress from fords to bridges was slower. The northern highway crossed the brook by a ford (P P) below St. Peter's Church, the name "Litchurch" probably meaning the "church at the ford." This road appears to have taken the place of the earlier Saxon highway now known as Becket Well Lane (Q), after the disappearance of the Saxon Castle, for in those days merchants did not always travel past these strongholds with impunity. The position of the ancient holy well indicates, however, that Becket entered the town by this route, in the train of King Henry II., in 1155.

Green Lane (R), or Newlands Lane, belongs to a later period, when the woodland on the hillside was cut down to form more arable land for the burgesses, and a new road ("the Green Lane") was constructed along the boundary line of the parishes of St. Peter and St. Werburgh.

The ford (P P) on the northern highway just referred to, appears to have been gradually replaced by a causeway running from the northern bank and terminating at a bridge (St. Peter's) over the stream. The ground (S) thus enclosed between the causeway and the Wardwick was probably reclaimed by the monks of the monastery of St. James, for the Corn Market, lying close to their walls, implies that the great fair of St. James was held on this site. As this space was slowly built upon, the fair ground became limited to the "slang" (S L)—the narrow strip of ground lying between the houses and the northern edge of the brook. Along the "slang" Derby "wakes" were held, an annual fair which disappeared about the time that the brook was covered over and Victoria Street formed. In those days of narrow thoroughfares, the Corn Market was regarded as a spacious area, for even

as late as 1712, Woolley describes it as "the Great Street." The original line of the marsh at this place may be indicated by the boundary between the parishes of All Saints and the outlying Litchurch (St. Peter's) which runs partly along St. James' Lane.

Below this causeway the marsh subsequently became utilised by the tanners and fellmongers, although the name Brede Lepe, which existed as late as Speed's time, may refer to a fish-weir or eel-trap (T) which partially enclosed the broad stream in this neighbourhood in the earlier centuries. These fish-weirs, a common feature of those times, were constructed with interlaced osiers, probably obtained in Derby from Willow Row.

The two oldest bridges over the brook were those at Bold Lane (U) and St. James' Lane (V), the former affording a shorter route from St. Mary's Bridge to Cheapside, and the latter being the property of the monks. Bold Lane Bridge remained a narrow wooden structure to the close of its career, being for centuries superseded by the adjoining St. Werburgh's Bridge (W). The close proximity of these bridges naturally requires an explanation, for our forefathers were not accustomed to provide public money for unnecessary purposes, or to build two bridges where one sufficed. No records exist in answer to this question, but the following facts may be offered. The town complaint of 1276 states that Sir Robert Esseburn had for twenty years appropriated "toll and passage from those persons using 'Donnebrugge'"—a bridge belonging to the borough, "to the great detriment of the King's majesty." Evidently this "town-bridge" was a valuable property, a description applying to Bold Lane Bridge at that time, and it is presumable that the townspeople, on the formation of a new Market Place, about the year 1285, built the more commodious bridge of St. Werburgh's, thus forming a more convenient thoroughfare and at the same time diverting the traffic from Bold Lane Bridge and

circumventing the robber-knight in the collecting of his illegal tolls. Sadler Gate then became the chief thoroughfare from the westward to the Market Place, for St. James' Bridge remained a narrow wooden structure until comparatively modern times, and the mediæval character of St. James' Lane, with the posts at the bridge end, suggests that it ceased to be used for vehicular traffic some centuries before its demolition. It was merely a footway in Woolley's time.

Of late years history has repeated itself, for the widening of this lane to form the modern St. James' Street, has diverted traffic from Sadler Gate to the old thoroughfare. Another instance occurred when the first Exeter Bridge was built about 1810. The inhabitants of Bridge Gate and neighbourhood, anticipating a loss of traffic, petitioned the Corporation to close the new thoroughfare, but its value to the town generally was too apparent, and the petitioners were ignored. Their fears, however, were only too well founded, for some forty years later, the decline of traffic by the old route, caused by the building of the present Exeter Bridge, at once led to a depreciation in the value of property in the neighbourhood of St. Mary's Bridge, which is still strikingly apparent in the quaint but somewhat dilapidated character of the buildings.

The risk of robbery by the neighbouring nobles was general in the Middle Ages, as the Derby merchants knew to their cost on many occasions. The name Tenant Bridge (X) implies that the townspeople (tenants *in-capite*, certainly from 1256) built this bridge at their own charges and with their own labour, for the carriage of the produce of the Siddals, on the understanding that it was burgess property, and that neither king nor noble had any right to levy toll upon it.

These bridges and town thoroughfares were all narrow and inconvenient from a modern point of view. In

Moneypenny's Map of Derby (1791), the town end, or oldest portion of Babington Lane, Green Lane, and Friar Gate, are all shown with narrow entrances, and the less-used thoroughfares of to-day, such as upper Sadler Gate, St. Michael's Lane, and Thorn Tree Lane, remain as examples of this mediæval narrowness. The Earl of Shrewsbury, in stating his plan for stopping the northern rebels in 1536, says that "the ways at Derby are so strait (narrow) that few will pass there." He doubtless knew also that St. Peter's Bridge was protected by a gateway, and that St. Mary's Bridge was guarded in a similar manner, the stone groove and bolt-holes still to be seen in the old structure apparently marking the position of the portcullis.

Little can be said respecting the bridge over the Bramble Brook at the eastern end of the Wardwick (Y). The early wooden structure had given place to a stone bridge long before Hutton's boyhood, his description of it in those days corresponding with Pegg's Bridge (Z) still to be seen crossing the canal near the Nottingham Road.

The Bramble Brook some distance above the bridge, ran past the rear of the Friary (27), its inmates having chosen this position for their dwelling, because the brook enabled them to form a sluice through their property—a method of drainage common in the Middle Ages. The fishponds, which existed here until modern times, evidently formed the upper portion of this artificial channel through the grounds of the Friary.

The fords of the early ages were slowly improved by placing stepping-stones, which in turn gave place to wooden bridges, to be improved later, in the more important thoroughfares, by stone structures. The king's letter of 1328 grants the pontages for three years for the repair of the *bridges* of the town, and as St. Mary's was rebuilt of stone about this time, it is possible that

St. Peter's and St. Werburgh's Bridges were also reconstructed at or about the same period. In Speed's map, St. Werburgh's, St. Peter's, and Tenant Bridges are shown as stone structures, each with three arches.

Improvements of an extensive nature, however, all belong to modern times ; St. Mary's Bridge was finished in 1794, as the date cut on the first pier from the town side plainly shows. In 1787 Mayor Flint built Sadler Gate Bridge in place of the two mediæval bridges at this spot—a bold improvement constituting the first covering of the brook. In 1837 the arching of the brook between St. Peter's and St. James' Bridges formed a landmark in the history of the town, and in 1852 the last important change occurred, when Exeter Bridge (Ex), as already stated, replaced a wooden structure, built by Saxelby, which crossed the Derwent about this spot.

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